

History Primers

CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES

I

GREEK ANTIQUITIES

PROF. MAHAFFY



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HISTORY PRIMERS, *edited by*

JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

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FIG. 1.—Portrait of Posidippus, a comic poet (showing the *χιτών* and *ἱμάτιον*, and the design of an old Greek chair, cf. §§ 21, 11.)

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GREEK

ANTIQUITIES

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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GREEK ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE GREEK NATION.

I. Introduction.—There is no doubt that Greek history and Greek literature are very important for us to know, because there is hardly any people that ever lived upon the earth who worked so hard at politics, or who wrote so many excellent books and wrote them so well. These things are described in the Primers of Greek History and Literature which have been published in this series. But we cannot understand Greek history, or enjoy Greek books, without knowing something of the private life and ways of the people, their habits and customs, their business and their sports, their law and their religion. For while on many points they thought exactly as we do, on others their notions were quite different from ours. At Athens, for example, as among us, it was thought vulgar and ill-bred to hurry along the streets, or to talk at the top of one's voice, but on the other hand, if a gentleman was found going about without a walking stick, he was presumed by the police to be disorderly, and imprisoned for the night. Again, while they were more careful than we are about the nurture and right education of children, they often threw out little

infants to perish, if they thought that there were already enough in the house. The private life of the Greeks seems in fact to us a curious mixture of cruelty and kindness, of rudeness and refinement. We shall find, accordingly, as we describe it, that both their life and temper had as distinct a character as the life and temper of each of the nations which are around us nowadays.

2. General Characteristics of the Race.—

As all Greeks spoke dialects of the same tongue and worshipped the same gods, so they felt themselves distinct from all the people around them, whom they called *barbarians*. This national pride is one of the leading points in their history. They were justified in this feeling; for in contrast to the other races of southern Europe, the pure Greek was often fair in colour, and of very regular and beautiful features. He grew up slower than his neighbours, and so his education was more deliberate, his vigour more lasting, and his old age more protracted than theirs. Even now the traveller in Greece is surprised by the exceeding fairness and beauty of the people, and by the number of fine old men whom he meets. The excellent climate of the country, along with very temperate habits, have made the Greeks a very healthy race; and of this there is no better evidence than the rare mention of tooth-ache in Greek books, and the remarkable whiteness and regularity of the teeth of modern Greeks.

3. Their Quick Sympathies.—

As we might expect from people in good health, they were happy in their temper, and ever ready to enjoy themselves, while their own natural good taste and beauty made them keen judges of beauty in other things, and very impatient of ugliness. In fact they set so much store upon beauty, that they were even known to worship it, and were usually disposed to think it the same thing as goodness, if not superior. If they wished to say of a man that he was a perfect gentle-

man, they said he was “fair and good” (*καλοκάγαθός*), meaning by *fair*, not only fair in his conduct, but in his looks, and meaning by *good*, not only good in character, but in birth. They also speak of it as a curious thing, that Socrates was a great and a good man, though he was very ugly.

But they were not wanting in quick sympathy for other things than beauty. They were always ready to laugh at a blunder, and to weep over a misfortune ; to be indignant at injustice, and amused at knavery ; to be awed by solemnity and tickled by absurdity.

4. **Their Reasonableness.**—No doubt these very quick sympathies would have constantly led them astray, but for the great *reasonableness* which was another strong point in the nation. They insisted upon discussing and understanding things, upon hearing both sides, and were generally satisfied to be led by the majority. It was this quality which made them, in politics, love councils and cities, and hate tyrants and solitude ; in art it made them love symmetry and proportion, and hate vagueness and display. It made them also in literature love clearness and moderation, and hate both bombast and sentimentality. These are the chief good points of the Greeks, and the causes why they were so great and renowned a people. But they had their faults also—faults which have remained in the nation to the present day. They always had a strong bent for power, and for money as the key to power, and were not scrupulous as to the means they employed to obtain either. They were not truthful, but were ready to tell lies and to deceive for their own advantage. They were ungrateful, just as people are nowadays, and only a little less cruel than their barbarian neighbours. They were exceedingly jealous of others, and full of envy if beaten or outwitted by a rival. Though always warring, they were not very courageous ; they often cried before a battle, and ran away as soon as it began. So,

like all other men, the Greeks possessed a mixture of good and bad qualities.

5. Special Features of particular Tribes.—When we speak of the Greeks as one people, we must not forget that they were separated into many distinct tribes, and that these again occupied separate cities, countries, and islands, with separate laws, and often different manners and customs. Some of the Greeks were hardy mountaineers, some sailors and merchants, some shepherds and husbandmen. The dialects of these people varied as much as that of Somersetshire does from the English spoken in the Highlands, or in the west of Ireland, and as they did not belong to one Empire as we do, their manners and customs were even more various. This makes it very hard to describe them, for what was approved in some places was thought wrong in others. For example, young girls used to join in athletic sports publicly at Sparta, whereas at Athens they were not even allowed out to see them. It is hard to tell whether such differences of manners were caused by difference of tribe, or by the force of circumstances. It is commonly thought that the Dorian race was stern, hard, and conservative in its temper, that the Ionic was soft, pliant, and luxurious, while the *Æolian* and *Achæan* was to some extent like each of them. But this came to be believed because the people of Sparta, who were Dorians, were trained to these habits of silence, simplicity, and obedience by Lycurgus. Other Dorians, such as the Corinthians and Tarentines, had the very opposite character. So the Ionians were blamed for luxury and cowardice, and yet no Greek cities showed more vigour and bravery in their day than Miletus and Athens.

6. Unity of Greek Life.—Still in general we may say that the Greeks who inhabited the rich colonies of Asia Minor and of Southern Italy, and who were moreover close to wealthy barbarians, were

more given to luxury and indulgence than those of the mother country, 'which was ever nurtured along with poverty,' and so developed in them a spirit of bravery and freedom as the natural result of thrift and diligence. The character of their various dialects is said to bear out this opinion. But to this, as well as to the usual opinion about the various character of Ionians, Dorians, and *Æolians*, there remain many exceptions. There were also some mountainous districts, such as Acarnania, *Ætolia*, and parts of Arcadia, where the culture of the people stood far below that of the rest of Greece, though their language and general habits always caused them to be classed among Greeks, and not among barbarians. For in spite of all differences, there was ever a striking unity in the Greeks, which made them feel quite distinct from all other people and quite superior to them ; and this feeling, like a sort of great freemasonry, was a bond which united the most distant Greeks, whenever and wherever they met. Thus the merchants of Massilia in Gaul and Trapezus near the Caucasus, of Olbia on the Euxine, and Cyrene in Africa, met as fellow countrymen, and talked together with ease, while the other nations of the earth held intercourse with difficulty. This is that unity of the Hellenic race of which Hellenes were so proud, unity which was shown in a common language, a common religion or religions, in great national feasts, and in a general contrast to all the other world as mere barbarians. Perhaps the most kindred feeling we now can compare with it, is that of all English-speaking people in all parts of the world, when they meet among *foreigners*, as they call those who speak any other tongue. The pride which they feel in their Anglo-Saxon race and language is not unlike the national spirit of the Greek.

We see this unity of type most of all in Hellenic art. Their paintings and music are lost to us, but in the remains of their buildings and their sculpture, as

well as in the forms of their poetry, there breathes a subtle spirit of excellence, a combination of grace and dignity, a union of the natural and the ideal, which makes them quite unapproachable. Any one who has studied these masterpieces with care can easily detect even the closest imitations of the Romans, made under the direction and by the advice of later Greek artists.

7. Prevalence of City Life.—Whereas modern life is very much a country life, and we see all our plains and hills studded with farmsteads and well-kept houses, it was rarely so with ancient, as it is never so with modern, Greece. In old days the fear of pirates and plunderers, in later days the taste for talking and for politics, kept men from staying in the country, and brought them into the towns, where they found safety and society. The tyrants alone insisted upon country life. Thus we find in Homer that out-lying farms belonging to the nobles were managed by trusty slaves, who grazed cattle, and stall-fed them for city use. In Hesiod's time it was the poor farmer only who dwelt in the country; fashionable and idle people always came together in the towns. The very same facts meet us when we read the Greek novels of the latest age, such as the *Story of Daphnis and Chloe*. There the rich citizens of Mitylene only come out rarely, like many Irish landlords, to visit their tenants and their flocks. There are only two large instances of Greek gentry living from choice in the country. The first is that of the old Attic gentry, whom Thucydides and Aristophanes describe as living luxuriously on their estates, and coming seldom to Athens. The second is that of the gentry of Elis, who were often, Polybius says, complete strangers for generations to the town. This was so because Attica was protected by her forts and fleets from sudden attack in these early days, and because the Greeks by common consent respected the land of Elis as sacred on

account of the Olympic games. Accordingly, Xenophon, who was a sportsman, settled in this country when he retired from his wars. But we must pay our chief attention to city life as the almost universal form of Greek society.

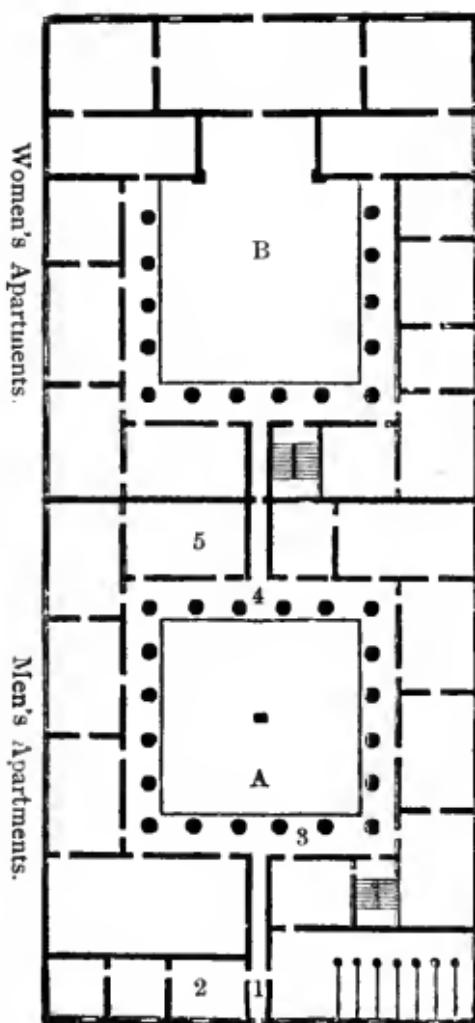
8. General appearance of the Greek Cities.—The older Greek towns were usually some miles from the sea, because many pirates went about the coasts. These towns grew out from a castle, or *Acropolis*, which at first had been the only fortified refuge for the neighbouring people in times of danger. Of this we have a remarkable example in the very old ruins of Tiryns on the plain of Argos. When the population increased, they built their towns round this fort, and walled them in. But the Acropolis or hill fort, generally on some steep crag, was of course the strongest and safest part of the town. It was also the seat of the oldest temples, and of the god who took the town under his especial charge. Hence it was often a sacred place altogether, and not occupied with common houses. If the town prospered, there grew up at the nearest harbour a roadstead or seaport town, where merchants and sailors carried on their trade. Thus Athens with its Acropolis is three miles from the nearest sea, and more than four miles from the Peiræus, which became its port because the harbour was so excellent. The same may be said of Argos, Megara, and other towns. Thus Corinth had even two ports, one on either sea, and both at some miles distance from the great rock on which its citadel, the Acrocorinthus, was situate. Sparta alone had no citadel, because the passes into its plain were very difficult and easily defended. Up to 300 B.C. it had no defences, and looked like a few mean villages close together. This was a remarkable exception.

9. The citadel was defended by walls, wherever the natural rock was not steep enough, and supplied with tanks for water, except in such rare cases as that of

Corinth, which has the spring Peirene on the top of its great rock. If you looked down from any of these great citadels upon the town beneath, the most striking objects were always the temples and other public buildings which were meant to be admired from without, whereas the private houses were externally poor and shabby. So also the public squares and markets were large and imposing, often surrounded by colonnades and porticoes where people lay in the sun, or even slept at night. These colonnades were adorned with rows of statues ; but the streets were narrow and dirty. The great contrast to any modern city must have been first of all the absence of all spires and pinnacles, as all Greek architecture loved flat roofs, and never built even in many storeys. Then the forest of modern chimneys was also absent—an advantage which may be held fully to make up for the absence of even splendid steeples. All private houses were flat and insignificant, for the Greek never intended his house to be admired from without, he merely meant to shut out the noise and the thoroughfare of the street, and spent all his care on inner comforts. I will describe the temples when we come to the public buildings of the Greeks, and will now begin by explaining the main points of an ordinary private house.

10. General Plan of the Greek House (cf. Fig. 2.)—While we build our houses facing the street, with most of their ornament intended to be seen by those who pass by, the Greek did all he could to shut out completely all connection with the street. He never had groundfloor windows facing the street, and his house looked like a dead wall with a strong door in it, furnished with a knocker and a handle (*ρόπτρον* and *ἐπισπαστήρ*). This door opened outwards, which made it safer for those within, but when they were coming out they used to knock inside (*ψοφεῖν* opposed to *κρούειν* of the visitor) lest passers-by might be thrown down when the

FIG. 2.—Plan of a large Greek House with two Courts (A and B).



1. θυράν.
2. θυρωρεῖον.
3. περίστυλος.
4. μέταυλος οὗ παστάς.
5. δάλαμος.
6. Stalls.

door was pushed open. Richer houses did not open directly on the street, but on a porch (*πρόθυρον*) which was not regarded as part of the house. Directly inside the hall-door was a narrow hall (*θυρών*) with a porter's lodge opening off it (*θυρωρεῖον*), in which a slave sat, who was put to that work or to that of attending boys, when not useful for anything else. You passed through the hall or passage into an open square court (*αὐλὴ, περιστυλος*) which was the centre of the house, and was surrounded by a covered colonnade or cloister (*παστάς*). The various men's rooms and the dining-room opened upon this cloister. The same general plan was adopted by the Romans, and inherited by the modern Italians, so that most Italian palaces in Genoa, Florence, and elsewhere are built in this way. Opposite the entrance was a second passage (*μέταυλος*), or sometimes a large room (*προστάς, παστάς*) barring the women's apartments (*γυναικωνῖτις*), and here was situated the bed-chamber (*θάλαμος*) of the master and mistress of the house. In richer houses the women's rooms were built round a second court like the first. But more commonly they did not occupy so much room, and were often placed on a second storey (*ὑπερῷον*), raised over the first at the back part of the building, with a staircase going up from the court. The Greeks preferred living on the ground-floor, and their houses were not lofty blocks, like those of our streets. The bedrooms and sitting-rooms round the court were usually small and dark, being mostly lighted only through their door into the cloister. The upper storey had windows (*θυρίδες, φωταγωγοί*). The roof, which was tiled, like ours, was so flat as to allow people to walk upon it. The pantries and store-rooms were generally at the back of the house, and near them the kitchen, which alone was supplied with a chimney (*κάπνη, καπνοδόχη*). The other rooms seldom required a fire, and, if necessary, were heated with braziers of hot coke or charcoal (*ἀνθράκια, πύραυλοι*). The covered way upon which they opened

made them cool in summer. Of course the palaces of early kings and the country houses of the rich Attic nobles had larger rooms and courtyards than ordinary city houses, but their plan was not different. Homer describes their halls as ornamented by plates of bright metal on the walls—a fashion long preserved in the house of Phocion at Athens, and of which we still have traces in the so-called treasure house of Atreus, near Mycenæ. Fresco-painting (*ζωγραφία*) and rich colouring on the walls did not come into fashion till the fourth century B.C., and then became so common that we find almost all the houses in Pompeii, which was really a Greek town, though in Italy, ornamented in this way. There are large panels of black, scarlet, or yellow, surrounded with rich borders of flowers, and in the centre of the panel there are figures painted, when the owner could afford it. The same style of ornament, with far better execution, may be seen in the chambers of the palace now excavated on the Palatine at Rome.

II. The Furniture of the House.—As the Greek citizen lived chiefly in the open air, and in public, and regarded his house merely as a safe and convenient place to keep his family and store his goods, it was not to be expected that his furniture (*τὰ ἔπιπλα*) should be expensive or elaborate. The small size of the rooms and the dislike of the Greeks for large entertainments also suggest the same inference. Besides, the low valuations of furniture alluded to in several speeches made in the law courts of Athens prove it clearly as a general rule in earlier days, though some cities, such as the rich Sybaris, may have formed exceptions. In later days, with the decay of public spirit, greater luxury prevailed in private life.

We must therefore consider early Greek household furniture to have been cheap and simple, but remarkable for a grace of design and beauty of form which have never since been rivalled. And these were combined with a diligent attention to comfort and to

practical use. Thus the Greek chair which is often drawn on vases, and which is reproduced in marble in the front row of the theatre at Athens, as we still see it, is the most comfortable and practical chair yet designed. (See Fig. 1.) So also the pots and pitchers and vases which have been discovered in endless variety, are equally beautiful and convenient. The chief articles of which we hear are chairs (*διφποι*), stools and couches (*κλίναι*), made in ornamental wood-work, with loose cushions (unlike our modern upholstery); there were also high-backed armchairs, and folding stools (*όκλαδαι*), often carried after their masters by slaves. Though men of ruder ages and poorer classes were content to sleep between rugs and skins on the ground, and a shake down for a sudden guest was always such (and is so still); yet the Greeks had beds of woollen mattrasses stretched on girths. Tables were only used for eating, and were then brought in, and laid loosely upon their legs. In early days each guest had a separate table for himself. This absence of solid tables must have been the most marked contrast between a Greek room and ours. People wrote either on their knees (as they now do in the East) or upon the arm of a couch. Whatever ornaments they kept in their rooms seem to have been placed on tripods, which often carried a vase of precious metal and of elegant workmanship. The wonderful variety and beauty of their lamps must also have been a remarkable feature. They possessed all manner of cups, bowls, jars, and flasks for wine, and water, and oil, and we have long lists of names for kitchen utensils, probably not very different from those found at Pompeii. They used plates and dishes, and sometimes knives and spoons at meals, but never forks.

12. The Public Buildings of the Greeks.—Porticoes (*στροαι*) and Gates.—In contrast to their simple, and often rude, private houses, which

were only meant to be seen inside, the public buildings of the Greeks were extremely handsome and costly, and mainly intended to be admired from without. Thus their public places of assembly (*ἀγοραί*) and public markets were generally surrounded with handsome colonnades, often of marble, and painted with frescoes, so that when men met together for public business they found themselves in a square like the court of their private houses, but on a larger scale. We are able to judge of these porticoes by the remains found in the agora of Pompeii. The gates of their cities were also handsomely built, and the gateway (*προπύλαια*) leading into the Acropolis of Athens was considered a model of beauty all over Greece. In the ports they also built great docks (*νεώρια*), and marts (*δείγματα*) where merchants could exhibit samples of the cargoes they had for sale. After the time of the architect Hippodamus (440 B.C.) they even began to lay out the ordinary streets at right angles, and the Peiræus was rebuilt in this way, something like the plan of New York. There were officers (*αστυνόμοι*) entrusted with the care of public buildings, roads, and aqueducts, and with the safety of the streets ; they also prevented any encroachments on the part of private citizens.

13. The Temples.—But of all public buildings the Temples were far the most remarkable. They were in Greek towns of the same importance as the Churches were in towns of the Middle Ages, and were in the same way the chief object of interest to all travellers and visitors. They were so massively built, that portions of them have lasted to this day, and by means of these ruins we can study and describe their plan and structure. The most remarkable remains of these temples are at Pæstum (Posidonia) near Salerno (cf. Fig. 3), at Girgenti (Agrigentum) on the south coast of Sicily, at Ægina, in Attica at Sunium, and above all at Athens. The foundations of many

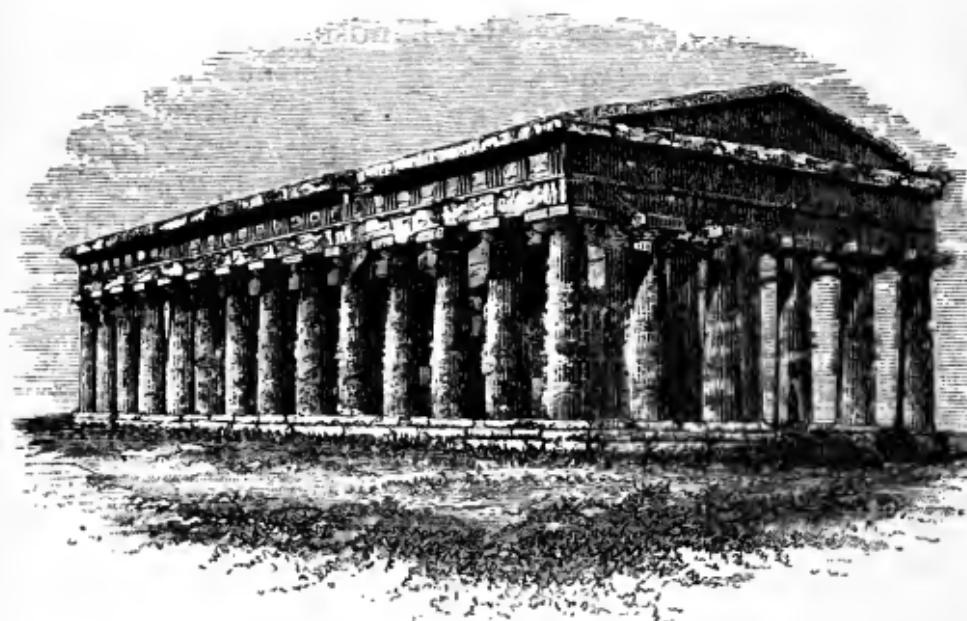


FIG. 3.—Great Temple of Paestum, near Salerno (built in pure Doric style about the Sixth Century, B.C.).

more have been discovered. Among the most celebrated in old times out of Athens were those of Hera at Samos, of Artemis at Ephesus, of Apollo at Delphi, and of Zeus at Olympia. All the temples were built upon sites which had long been sacred to a god, generally on "high places" like those mentioned in the Old Testament. At first the gods had been worshipped in the form of rude stones, or of trees, sometimes carved roughly into the form of an image. There had been an altar before the god, but no covering or temple. But when the Greeks began to carve marble statues, and offer rich gifts to their gods, it was necessary to provide them with a more permanent shelter.

14. For this purpose they cased with terra-cotta tiles the ordinary wooden building, which is made by upright posts, beams lying across these posts, and a sloping roof made by others meeting in a gable. Presently they replaced the wood with stone buildings. This simple plan was enriched by multiplying the upright supports, and carving the surfaces and ends of the cross beams, as well as by richly colouring the whole with blue, red, and gilding. The result was the so-called Doric style of temple, which was varied, but not improved, by what is called the Ionic, and afterwards by the Corinthian style of architecture. These three styles are distinguished by the treatment of the pillars, and of the *entablature*, or course of building immediately over the pillars. The Doric pillar (cf. Fig. 3) rose straight from the pavement, without having, as the others have, a base of different pattern. The shaft, averaging $5\frac{1}{2}$ times its lowest diameter, is fluted completely, so that the (20) grooves are divided by sharp lines, and swells slightly (*εὐτασίς*) from base for a third of its height, then diminishing. The capital is made up of the widening grooved neck (*ὑποτραχήλιον*) the circular *echinus*, and the square *abacus*. This bears the long beams of the *architrave* (cf. Fig. 4a) or *epistyle*, which represent the beams of

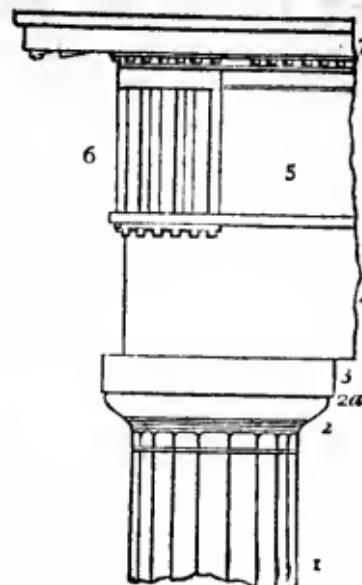
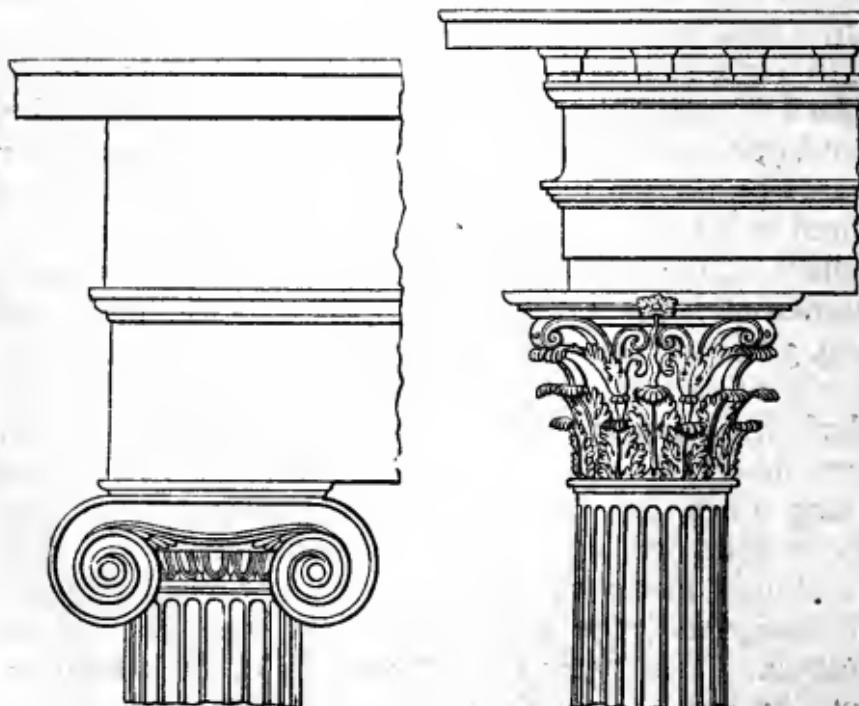


FIG. 4a.

1. Shaft.	4. Architrave.
2. <i>ώποραχήλιον</i> , or tænia.	5. Metope } Frieze.
2a. Echinus.	6. Triglyph.
3. Abacus.	7. Cornice.



wood which were used in the earliest building. Across these lay the beams, which ran down the building and formed the ceiling, and these showed their ends over the architrave. Accordingly the second course of the Doric entablature, called the *frieze*, has *triglyphs*, which represent the ends of the beams scored with grooves for ornament, and between them empty spaces called *metopes* (*μετόπαι*), which were however in stone temples covered with a slab of stone, and ornamented with figures. Over the frieze came the *cornice* (*γεῦστον*), or projecting part of the entablature, and then the gable (*ἀέτωμα*) which was filled with a flat triangular surface, or *pediment* (*τυμπανον*), and usually adorned with sculpture. All the pillars and sculptures were painted with red, blue and yellow, and much gilding was used. The Ionic and Corinthian orders differed in the design of the capital, in the entablature, which they made a flat band to receive sculpture and painting, and in having a base for the pillars, and slender shafts with separated flutings (cf. Figs. 4*b* and 4*c*). Greek temples might have pillars replacing the east wall only, called *in antis* (*ἐνπαραστάσι*), or set in advance of the wall at one side (prostyle), at both ends (amphiprostyle), all round (peripteral), as in Fig. 3, and even in two rows (dipteral), as in the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens. These principal features will give a general idea of the structure.

15. It may be observed that Ionic pillars, though generally employed in Asia Minor, were seldom used in Greece except for small and highly ornamented temples or for interiors, and that Corinthian pillars, which were hardly known before Alexander's time, only came into fashion with Roman building in Greece.

While the outside of these temples was so splendid, and the broad steps and colonnades so convenient for crowds of worshippers, the walled-in part (or cella) was simple and dark. It was generally divided into the antechamber (*πρόναος*), the shrine

(*ναός*), and the treasury, with other small rooms behind the shrine (*όπισθόδομος*). The shrine was covered only over the statue of the god, the rest was partly open, to allow incense and smoke of offering to rise freely. The Greeks had also a strong feeling that prayers should be offered under an open sky. In large temples there was a colonnade inside the cella wall, parallel to the outer pillars, and this supported the roof. Of the various gods and their feasts I will speak when we come to consider the Greek religion. Similar in style to the temples were the colonnades and porticoes which were usually built round market-places, and along quays in seaport towns.

16. Forts and Walls.—These were not imitations of woodwork, and were not built for ornament, but merely for solidity, originally of huge natural blocks of stone, piled together as they would fit best. This sort of building is called *Cyclopean*, and at Tiryns we have even covered passages in a very thick wall with windows constructed in this rude way. We find then a more advanced stage called *polygonal* building, in which the stones were cut partially, but not squared, and fitted with the aid of small stones, often with rubble inside. But some of these polygonal walls are so carefully fitted that the joinings are hard to detect, as we find in a wall at Megara. This close fitting without mortar, when the stones were cut square and merely clamped with iron or lead, is the general characteristic of the best Greek walls, such as those of Eleutherae, Phylæ, and Messene, where the most smooth cutting, and the most accurate fitting, have made the Greek forts almost imperishable by natural decay. This sort of wall building has been particularly described by Thucydides as employed to fortify the Piræus, but in this case the work was deliberately destroyed, and hardly a trace now remains.

CHAPTER II.

MEN AND PROPERTY.

17. **The Greek Citizen.**—Having now described the cities and buildings, it is time to approach the people that lived in them more closely. We will begin with an average citizen of full age, and after explaining his manner of life, will regard other members of society in their relation to him.

The Greek states recognized no other person than the citizen as a member of the body politic, and all laws and enactments were made with reference to his rights and his demands. There were of course times and places, when a tyrant or a few nobles ruled, and where the mass of the citizens had no public duties. But even there trade, gossip, and gymnastics filled up the day. In Sparta, too, silence and extreme modesty were taught to the young, and even in conversation men were taught to ponder a long time, and then give utterance to their thoughts in the shortest and pithiest shape, somewhat like what we find described at state meetings of North American Indians. But this must be looked on as an exceptional case, and all over the rest of Greece, ordinary life was much more like the life lived at Athens, than the life lived at Sparta.

18. **How he usually spent his day.**—The Greeks learned the division of the day into twelve hours from Babylon, and Plato is said to have invented a water-clock marking the hours of the night in the same way. But in ordinary life, according to the old fashion, a night and the following day were regarded as one whole (*νυχθήμερον*) and divided into seven parts. There were three for the night, one (*εσπερος*) when the lamps were lit, the next the dead hours of

the night (*μέσαι νύκτες*), and then the dawn (*ὤρθρος*) when the cocks begin to crow. The day was divided into four: early morning (*πρωΐ*), the forenoon when the market-place began to fill (*περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν*), the midday heat (*τῆς μεσημβρίας*), and the late afternoon (*περὶ δείλην*). As in all southern countries now-a-days, where midday is a time of sleep or idleness, so in old times, the Greek rose very early, generally at the dawn of day. His ablutions were but scanty, and there is no trace of any bath in the morning. Indeed the general cleanliness of the Greeks must rather be compared with that of other modern nations than with ours. In older days the hair was worn long, and elaborately dressed, as we can see from coins, so that this must have cost some trouble. But shaving the beard did not come in as a general fashion till Alexander's time, and even then shaving often and having very white teeth are mentioned as rather foppish.

19. **His Morning Work.**—When dressed, the Greek took a very slight meal, called ἀκρατισμός, corresponding to the coffee now taken in Greece and elsewhere upon getting up, and merely intended to stave off hunger till late breakfast. It is said to have consisted of bread and wine. He then went to call on such friends as he wished to see on business, before they left their houses. The same fashion prevailed at Rome. When this was done, he went for a morning walk or ride, and if a townsman, to see his farms and crops, and give directions to his country steward. But if he lived in the country, he must start early to be in the city when the market-place filled. For if there was important public business the assembly met very early, and in any case he there met all his friends, visited the markets and shops, and if a merchant, was practically on 'Change at this hour.

20. **The Hours of Meals.**—At noon all business stopped, and the public places were deserted, when he returned to his déjeuner or breakfast

(ἀριτόν). The modern Greeks, in country parts, still spend half the day in this way before they breakfast. The poorer classes who dined early in the afternoon, and who probably had eaten something more at early breakfast, spent their midday hours, without going home, in barbers' shops, in porticoes, and other places of meeting, where they either slept or gossiped, as their fancy led them. Lawsuits, at which speeches were made and evidence taken, must have been carried on during this part of the day also. The breakfast of the better classes was a substantial meal, probably serving as dinner for the children, and consisted like the modern Greek *déjeuner* of hot dishes and wine. It was, however, thought luxurious to eat two heavy meals in the day, and much wine-drinking before dinner was regarded with the same aversion as tippling is now-a-days. When the day became cooler, men went out again, partly to practise gymnastics, which ended in later times with a warm bath, partly to see others so occupied and talk to their friends. Towards sunset they returned home to their dinner (*δεῖπνον*), the principal meal of the day, and the only one at which the Greek entertained his friends. If not a very studious man, or a leading politician, he devoted the evening to conversation and music, either in his family circle, or among his friends. In the former case, he went to bed early; in the latter he was often up all night, and sometimes went from his first feast in company with his noisy friends to knock up other banqueters and enjoy their hospitality unasked. There were no clubs or public-houses open at night in the old Greek towns. It should be added that the hours of meals got gradually later, according as luxury advanced, the *δεῖπνον* of Homer's people being never later than midday, and even earlier, if men went out for a hard day's work, and came home in the evening to their *δόρπον*. So the Hungarians, and the Dutch boors in Africa, who retain old European habits, dine

before noon, as Queen Elizabeth seems to have done. In historical times at Athens, we find no *δεῖπνον* before four o'clock, so much so, that it is generally mistranslated *supper*, which it never was. When the *δεῖπνον* advanced, the *δόρπον* of course became less and less important.

21. **Of his Dress.**—The dress of a Greek gentleman was very simple both in form and colour. He wore a shirt or under garment of wool, called *χιτών* or *ἐπωμίς*, without sleeves, and drawn tight with a girdle round the waist. As luxury increased, the Athenians adopted linen instead of wool, the Ionians wore the chiton down to the feet, and sleeves were frequently added. Trousers were always considered a foreign dress. Over the *χιτών* was thrown a large cloak (*ιμάτιον*) shaped something like a Scotch shawl, but squarer (*τετράγωνον*), which was wrapped about the figure so as to have only the right shoulder and head free. This was regarded as the principal garment, for while it was not thought polite to throw it open, and a man without it, though in his *χιτών*, was called stripped (*γυμνός*), on the other hand a man wrapped in his cloak without any under garment was thought perfectly dressed. Most of the portrait statues of celebrated men which have reached us are indeed represented in this very way, as may be seen in the annexed portrait of Sophocles copied from a celebrated statue in the Lateran collection at Rome (Fig. 5.) White was the full dress colour for both garments, but other colours, especially various shades of red, dark blue, and green, were not unfrequently worn.

22. The *ιμάτιον* was also doubled, when men were actively employed, and fastened on the shoulder with a clasp or pin. This was done in imitation of the smaller but thicker cloaks (*χλαιίνα*, *χλαμύς*), some of which were of semicircular shape, and borrowed from Macedonia. These were worn in war and on journeys. As to head-



FIG. 5.—Portrait Statue of Sophocles, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome
(dressed in the cloak or *stola* only).

dress, the Greeks seem to have usually gone about their cities bareheaded. In case of bad weather, they put on a fur or leather cap (*κυνῆ*) fitting closely to the head, and this was commonly worn by slaves. They also used in travelling, to keep off the sun's heat, broad-brimmed felt hats (*πέτασος*, *πιλίσιον*), very like our 'wide-awakes' in form. They were often barefooted, but also wore ornamented slippers (*έμβάδες*) at home, and in the streets sandals strapped with elegant thongs. In hunting or war, buskins (*κόθορνοι*) of various kinds, reaching high on the leg, were adopted. If we add a walking-stick (*βακτηρία*), which up to the time of Demosthenes was even obligatory at Athens, and was always carried at Sparta, and a seal-ring (*σφραγίς*), we complete our picture of the Greek gentleman's dress. In Socrates' day an *ἐπωμίς* or tunic cost 10 drachmæ (about 7s. 6d.), a cloak (*ἱμάτιον*) 16 to 20, a pair of shoes 8. Lower class people, such as farm labourers and slaves, wore the inner garment alone, but with sleeves, or (in the country) clothed themselves in tanned skins. The general colours of a Greek crowd must have been a dull woollen white, relieved with patches of crimson and dark greens and blues.

23. Of his Food.—The diet of Greek men varied so much, according to the produce of their land and their means, that it is not easy to describe it generally. We must entirely separate the diet of the heroes as described in Homer from that of plain historical Greeks. The heroes are described (probably with exaggeration) as eating several meals of roast or broiled (never of boiled) meat in the day; with no addition but some sort of bread, and wine. Beef, mutton, venison, and especially pork, are mentioned. Fish and solid forms of milk, such as cheese, are also used, but as the food of poor shepherds and fishermen, and eaten by the heroes only when roast meat is not to be had. This strong animal diet was very distasteful to later Greeks,

and only used in the case of training athletes, and perhaps partially in Boeotia and in Southern Italys which were celebrated for heavy dinners.

24. The ordinary fare of the poor man was very much what it now is in Greece—bread, olives, figs, cheese, and garlic, with cheap wine, soup, and meat as occasional luxuries. But the common bread of the old Greeks was not fermented or baked. It consisted in a simple dough ($\muā\zeta\alpha$ from $\muā\tau\tau\omega$), made of barleymeal ($\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\phi\iota\alpha$), which when dry was moistened either with water, or with wine and oil, and eaten without further cooking. It seems in fact to have been more like cold porridge than anything else we can imagine. This was the universal bread at Sparta. The better classes used wheaten flour ($\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\nu\alpha$) with which they baked ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\psi\alpha\mathfrak{v}$) bread ($\ddot{\alpha}\pi\pi\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{s}$). But with all Greeks, especially Athenians, some kind of bread was so universally considered the staple food that all additions, even meat, were called $\ddot{\alpha}\psi\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{v}$, or *relish*, if we except sweetmeats ($\tau\mathfrak{r}\alpha\gamma\mathfrak{h}\mu\alpha\mathfrak{t}\alpha$), which took the place of our dessert. So among old-fashioned people in Scotland, *kitchen* was used for all kinds of food beyond dry bread. There were many kinds of wheaten bread both of fine flour, and mixed. There were also all manner of sweet cakes ($\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}\tau\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{s}$, $\mu\epsilon\lambda\mathfrak{i}\pi\eta\kappa\mathfrak{t}\alpha$, &c.), which were prepared with honey, as the Greeks only used sugar (if they knew it at all) in medicines, and were flavoured with various seeds. Their garden vegetables are not easy to identify by their names, but there were certainly in use varieties of peas, beans, and vetches, leeks and onions, cresses, parsley, and thyme. They also ate truffles and mushrooms. These and other vegetables were either boiled into vegetable soup, or served up in hot dishes with sauce, or dressed as salads. Olives were pickled, as they still are, for a relish. Dried figs and grapes ($\iota\sigma\chi\dot{\alpha}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{s}$) were much esteemed. This varied vegetable diet was of course more prominent in country houses, where people had their own gardens. In the

towns, especially at Athens, in addition to dried fruit, the use of fish became so universal, that the term ὕψος came to be specially applied to it. Fresh-water fish (if we except the eels of Lake Copais in Bœotia) were not so much esteemed as the various sea-fish (including shell-fish), with which the Greek waters abound. There was, moreover, a great trade in salt fish, not only from the Black Sea, but even from the coasts of Spain.

25. While the fish market, the cheese market, and the vegetable market are constantly mentioned at Athens, we seldom hear of butchers or a meat market. The eating of meat must have been almost confined to sacrificial feasts, for in ordinary language butcher's meat was called *victim* (*ἱερεῖον*), and opposed to *game* (*θηρία*). As of old they ate beef, mutton, kid, and pork, also salting the latter and making it into sausages. Of game, the hare was the most esteemed. Fowls were in common use, and of wild birds the thrush was thought the greatest delicacy. Eggs were usual, but butter scarce, its place being chiefly supplied (as is now the case in Greece) by olive oil. The cooking of all these materials became more and more elaborate as luxury increased, so that the profession of cook assumes a strange importance in the comedies, which depict to us later Greek society.

26. **Of his Drink.**—The old Greek, like his modern descendants, was very fond of good water, and prized it highly, though Greek towns were often badly supplied with water for other purposes. The cooling of water, and of other drinks, with snow was well understood. Next to water, milk must have been in the oldest times his principal drink. But cow's milk was not liked, and even regarded unwholesome, as the modern Greeks consider both it and butter. The first milk (beastings, *πνός*, *πνιάτη*) of goats and sheep was prized, but in general all milk was used for cheese, just as is now the case among Greek

shepherds. The use of wine was early and universal. It was distinguished as to colour—black, the strongest and sweetest, white the weakest, and golden (*κιρρός*) which was dry, and thought most wholesome. It was also distinguished by the place of its growth and its age, but not as French wines are by the special year of the vintage, a distinction still, I think, unknown in Greece and Sicily. The rocky islands and coasts, many of them of volcanic soil, produced the best wine. It was made with great care; the first juice which ran from the press before treading being thought the best, and the pressed grapes being used to make a common wine or vinegar. It was often boiled, and mixed with salt water for exportation, often made aromatic by various herbs and berries, and preserved in great jars of earthenware, sealed with pitch. When to be used, it was often strained and cooled with snow, and always mixed with a good deal of water. Half-and-half was the strongest mixture allowed among respectable people, and the use of pure wine was rejected as low and dangerous, and only fit for northern barbarians. In the present day the wines of Greece, which are strong, are distasteful to the natives and even to travellers without water, and this natural consequence of a southern climate is increased by the strong flavour of fir-tree resin, which the Greeks add to almost all their wines.

27. Of his General Property.—All Greek property was divided both according to its use, and also according to its nature. If it was such as merely produced enjoyment to the owner it was called idle (*ἀργόν*); if it was directly profitable, it was called useful or fruitful (*ένεργόν*, *χρήσιμον*). But this distinction is less often mentioned than that into *visible* and *invisible* property (*οὐσία φανερά* and *ἀφανής*), which nearly corresponded to our division into *real* and *personal* property. But the Greeks included even money, lodged at a banker's, as a part of real property. Its principal

kind, however, was of course landed property (*έγγειος οὐσία*), as well as town houses, country farms, and sometimes mining property held under perpetual lease from the state. Of all these public accounts were kept, and when special taxes were required they were paid on this kind of property and according to its estimate. Personal or invisible property consisted of all movables, such as furniture, factories, changes of raiment, cattle, and above all slaves, who were employed in trades as well as in household work. In days of war and of heavy taxing it was common for the Greeks to 'make away with' their property (*ἀφανίζειν τὴν οὐσίαν*) which then meant, not to spend it, but to make it invisible property, that is, invisible to the state, and therefore not taxable.

28. Of Landed Property.—At every epoch of Greek history land was considered the best and the most important kind of wealth, and the landholder enjoyed privileges and rights not allowed to other men, however rich. This arose from the early form of Greek society. It is clear in Homer that the nobles possess the greater part of the land as their private property, and much of even the kings' wealth was made up of estates. These were also presented to public benefactors and other distinguished persons. What land was possessed by the common people can only be judged from Hesiod, who describes what we should call tenant farming—the occupying of small pieces of land in poverty, without telling us whether it was freehold or rented from the nobles. It was probably the former, at least in Boeotia, where we can imagine the rough slopes unoccupied of old as they now are, or covered with trees. These farms could be held by anyone who had the perseverance to clear and till them. In later days, when aristocracies prevailed, they also took for themselves the lands, so much so that at Syracuse and elsewhere they were called 'the land-sharers' (*γαιούοντες*) as opposed to labourers and

tradespeople. In some states, such as Sparta, it was said that the nobles, or conquering race, divided the land so as to leave the greater portion in equal lots for themselves to be worked by their slaves or dependants, and a smaller portion to the former owners, who were obliged to pay a rent to the state. But of course no such equality of lots, if ever carried out, could last. In all states we find the perpetual complaint that property had come into the hands of a few, while the many were starving. The Athenians met this complaint by allotting the lands of islands and coasts which they conquered among their poorer citizens, who retained their rights at Athens while holding their foreign possessions (*κληρουχίαι*).

29. Land was either *ψιλή*, bare or arable land, or *πεφυτευμένη*, planted with trees. There were also stony mountain pastures, called in Attica *φελλεῖς* or *φελλέα*, and generally *ἴσχαται*. In historical days, all these lands were either let by the state on leases, usually for ever (as was especially the case with mines), or were similarly let by political and religious corporations, or were worked by private owners for their own benefit by means of stewards and slaves. Such country farms are often mentioned in lists of property by the orators. The main produce has already been described (§ 24). We have no means of fixing the value of landed property in Greece, as we generally hear of prices without being told of the amount of land in question. But the low average of the actual prices mentioned in Attica points to a great subdivision of such property.

30. **Of House Property.**—As was before observed, the older Greek houses built in narrow irregular streets were of little value, being very plain and without any ornament. Leotychides, who was king of Sparta in B.C. 500, could not contain his wonder at a ceiling panelled in wood, which he saw at Corinth,

and Demosthenes tells us that the houses of the most celebrated Athenians at the same period were so modest as to be in no way different from those of their neighbours. Such houses, which remained the ordinary fashion all through Greek history, were of course not very valuable, and we hear of one worth only three minæ (under £12 of our money), of another at Eleusis worth five, and Demosthenes speaks of what he calls a little house worth seven (under £28). But we know that Alcibiades and other fashionable men of his time began to decorate their houses with paintings —a fashion which became quite common at Tanagra later on ; this and other improvements raised the price of some houses to forty or fifty minæ, and the rich banker, Pasion, possessed one which was let in lodgings and which was rated at 100.

31. All these prices are very low when compared with our standard, and can only be explained by the fact that at Athens, which was probably the most crowded and the dearest place in Greece, the circuit of the walls was greater than that required for the houses, so that there was always building ground to spare. It appears that Athenian citizens did not invest more than the fifth part of their property in dwelling-houses, unless they kept them for letting out. A house let to many tenants was called not *oikia* but *συνοικία*, and its manager, whether the owner, his steward, or a middle man who rented it from him, was called *ταύκληρος*, and the rent, *ταῦλος*. The ordinary rent of country houses in Attica was from eight to eight and three-quarters per cent. of the total value, which is about the same that a builder now expects for the money he invests in houses. But when we reflect that the ordinary rate of interest was not five per cent. as among us, but twelve, we have another proof that houses and house-rent were cheap in Greece. But we should also remember the fact that as most of the day was spent abroad, the house was by no

means so important as it is in our colder and harsher climate.

32. Of Mining Property.—As to the other kinds of real property, that which we know most about, and which was perhaps the most important, was mining property. There were gold and silver mines in many parts of Greece, of which those of Thasos (gold) and Laurium (silver) are the best known. Both these were probably discovered by the Phoenicians. We are told that the Athenian state used to let the right of mining on leases for ever, for a fine at the outset, of which we cannot tell the amount, and a rent of four per cent. on the profit. The shafts in pits were thus divided into lots, and the holder of the lease could sell it, or borrow money upon it, just as upon any other real property. Owing to the fixed yearly rent or tax upon the produce of the mine, the occasional taxes (*εισφοραί*) were not levied on this kind of property. There were officers appointed to watch the working of the mines and see that the rent was honestly paid, just as we have excise officers constantly supervising distilleries, in order to see the taxes properly paid. The produce of the mines of Laurium was a great source of wealth to Athens; just as the gold mines of Thrace were an important gain to Philip of Macedon. This was especially the case, because they were worked not by free labour, which is subject to strikes and the raising of wages, but by slaves bought and hired out for that purpose.

33. Of Personal or Movable Property.—**Money.**—By far the most important part of personal property was the possession of slaves and of ready money. There is indeed some doubt among Greek writers about the classing of the latter, for generally we find the money left by a citizen in bank counted as a part of his real property in the law courts. There can be no doubt that gold and silver were very scarce in Greece up to the time of the

Persian wars, the first large quantities being presents from the Lydian and other Asiatic kings. Even in later days great fortunes were not frequent, and the Greeks always kept much of their wealth invested in slaves and in vessels of gold and silver or plate, as we should call it. These latter are always specially mentioned in inventories of property, and the ready money seems always a small fraction of the full value in these lists. States, on the other hand, kept large reserve funds of ready money, because of this general scarcity of it among private citizens, and the difficulty of borrowing it during a sudden crisis. Accordingly the ordinary rate of interest obtained on money was twelve per cent., which was of course greatly increased when the investment was risky. Thus it was very common to lend money to a ship-owner in order to enable him to lay in a cargo, and carry it to a foreign port. But as the money was lost if the ship foundered the lender expected twenty-five or thirty per cent. in case of its safe return. We are told that most of the trade in the Piræus was carried on in this way. Investments on the security of landed property, or of an established trade were, of course, safer, and therefore made at a lower rate of interest.

34. The oldest banks in Greece had been the temples, in which all manner of valuables were deposited for safety. The priests had also been in the habit of lending money, especially to states, upon public security. But in later days we find banking, especially at Athens, altogether a matter of private speculation. A banking office was called *τράπεζα*, originally the table of a money-changer, and there accounts were kept in books by careful and regular entries. These private bankers often failed, and such failure was politely called *rearranging his table* (*ἀνασκευάζεσθαι τὴν τράπεζαν*). There was once an Athenian banker called Pasion, who had been originally a slave, but who received the freedom of the city, and was enrolled in one of the

most important *demes*, because his bank had stood firm when all the rest failed, and he had thus sustained the public credit. We are told that letters from his house gave a man credit when travelling through all the Greek waters, as all the merchants had dealings with him, and he doubtless issued circular notes, like those of Coutts' and other English banks, for the benefit of travellers.

35. Of the coinage of money I will speak hereafter. Though the Phoenicians, especially at Carthage, had invented the use of token money, like our notes, such a device was, as a rule, unknown to the Greeks, who did not advance beyond the use of formal bonds for the payment of money. We are told however that the people of Byzantium used iron money in this way.

36. **Of Slaves.**—It is difficult for us to put ourselves in the place of the ancients as regards slaves. They were looked upon strictly as part of the chattels of the house, on a level rather with horses and oxen than with human beings. No Greek philosopher, however humane, had the least idea of objecting to slavery in itself, which was, Aristotle thought, quite necessary and natural in all society; but there were Greeks who objected to other Greeks being enslaved and thought that only barbarians should be degraded to this condition. Hence, any Greek general who sold his prisoners of war as slaves, was not indeed thought guilty of any crime or injustice, but was sometimes considered to have acted harshly. Still a vast number of Greeks who might have been brought up in luxury and refinement, were doomed to this misfortune, in early days, by the kidnapping of pirates, as Homer often tells us; in later, through the many fierce civil wars; in both, by being taken up as foundlings, since the exposing of children was common, and most states allowed the finder to bring up such infants as his slaves. Frequently the men of captured cities were massacred, but in almost all cases the women and children were

sold into slavery (cf. § 102.) There were some parts of Greece, such as Laconia and Thessaly, in which old conquered nations were enslaved under the conditions of what we call serfdom. They were attached to the land of their master, and supported themselves by it, paying him a very large rent out of the produce. These serfs, called by many names, *helots* at Sparta, *penestæ* in Thessaly, *clarotæ* in Crete, were also obliged in most places to attend their masters as lightarmed soldiers in war. That they were subject to much injustice and oppression is clear from the fact that they repeatedly made fierce and dangerous insurrections, and a writer on the Athenian state significantly complains that such was the license allowed at Athens to slaves, that they actually went about dressed almost like free men, and did not show any fear or cringing when you met them in the street.

37. Still though slaves were on the whole better treated at Athens than elsewhere, they were always liable to torture in case their evidence was required, as it was common for the accused to offer his slaves' evidence if he was suspected of concealing any facts which they knew, and they were not believed without torture. So also the respectable and pious Nicias let them out by thousands to be worked in the Laurian silver mines, where the poisonous smoke and the hardships were such that half the price of the slave was paid yearly by the contractor who hired them—in other words, if they lived three years Nicias received one and a half times the value of his slaves. The contractor was also obliged to restore them the same *in number*, no regard being had of the individual slave. Again, we find women slaves deliberately employed by their masters in the worst kinds of traffic. The general price of slaves was not high, and seems to have averaged about two minæ (under £8); even in the case of special accomplishments it did not often exceed ten minæ. They wore a tunic with one sleeve, and a fur cap, in fact the dress of the lower

class country people. On their occupation in trades, and of their chances of freedom, I shall speak by and by.

38. **Of Cattle.**—The most important domestic animal in Greece, as in the rest of Europe, was the horse. Among the Homeric nobles, who went both to war and to travel in chariots, the use of horses was very great, and one Trojan chief is said to have possessed a drove of 3,000. And yet their carts were drawn by mules. In later days, the use of chariots in war and carriages in travelling almost disappeared from Greece, and was practised only in Asia Minor. I suppose this was owing to the scarcity and bad state of the roads. Cavalry and pack horses were used instead, and the cavalry of most Greek states was very trifling. The Athenians, for example, had no cavalry at all at Marathon ; and at Plataea none which could even protect foragers from the Persians, as the Thessalians were not on the Greek side. The Lacedæmonians had no cavalry at all before the year 424 B.C. Thus horses (except in Thessaly and a few other places) were only kept for public purposes, and also for such displays as the Olympic games and the state processions in religious festivals. At Athens to keep horses and to drive four-in-hand (in public contests only) was a proof of either great wealth or great extravagance. The knights or cavalry were of the richest class, and only kept one horse each as a state duty. We know that the very cheapest price for a bad horse was three minæ—that is to say, more than the average for a good slave, though not in itself a large sum. Twelve minæ seems about the average price for an ordinary cob. The enormous and perfectly exceptional sum of thirteen talents is said to have been paid for Alexander's horse 'Bucephalus.' This name was one used of a special breed (*βουκέφαλοι*) called *oxheaded*, from their short and broad head and neck, and which were celebrated in Thessaly. Other good breeds came from Sicyon, Cyrene, and Sicily, and were marked with letters such

as the old *s* (c) and *κ*, and called *σαμφόρας* or *κοππατίας*. These letters may possibly refer to Sicyon and Kyrene, as Cyrene was then written. On the whole horses in Greece were rather an expense than a source of wealth.

39. For draught purposes and for travelling with packs, much greater use was made of **mules** and donkeys, especially of the former, as is still the case all over Greece. We have no certain knowledge as to the prices given for these animals. The history of the use of **oxen** is, on the other hand, much better known. In Homeric times, and before the use of coined money, prices were fixed by the number of oxen a thing would cost, and this old practice is preserved in the Latin word *pecunia* (from *pecus*) for money, and in the English *fee*.

But according as men, and with them farming, increased, so much land was withdrawn from pasture that few more oxen were kept than what were wanted for field-work and for sacrifices. Beef was thought heavy diet, except in Boeotia; and cow's milk was never much liked by the Greeks. In out-of-the-way parts of Greece, such as Eubœa and Epirus, there were still large herds, and this was also the case about Orchomenus; but in general we hear that hides and even cattle were imported from the Black Sea and from Cyrene. The price of an ox at Athens in Solon's time is said to have been 5 drachmæ (4s.), though much more was sometimes given. This was not so much on account of the plenty or cheapness of oxen, as owing to the scarcity of coined money all through Greece. Accordingly about the year 400 B.C. we find the price greatly increased, and ranging from 50 to 80 drachmæ. An ox fit for a prize at games was valued at 100 (£3 18s. 8d.).

40. We are told that in Solon's days an ox was worth five sheep, but probably in later days the difference was greater, for, while oxen became scarce, the feeding

of **sheep** and **goats** must at all times have been a very common employment throughout Greece. Even in the present day, the traveller can see that from a country for the most part Alpine, with steep ravines and cliffs and wild upland pastures, unfit for culture and difficult of access, no other profit could ever be derived. But now, in the day of its desolation, shepherds with their flocks of sheep and goats have invaded many rich districts, once the scene of good and prosperous agriculture.

41. The old Greek peasant dressed in sheepskins, made clothes of the wool, used the milk for cheese and the lambs for feasting and sacrifice. We hear of no importing of wool into Greece, but find that the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor, such as Miletus and Laodicea, were most celebrated for fine woollen garments, which they made of the wool of the flocks of Mysia and Phrygia. Many districts all over Greece were also famed for their woollen stuffs, so much so that the woollen cloaks of Pallene were given as prizes to victors in some of the local games. Perhaps Arcadia has remained the least changed part of Greece in this and in other respects. Even now the shepherds go up in summer with great flocks to the snowy heights of Cyllene, and live like Swiss peasants in *chalets* during the hot weather. In winter they come down to the warm pastures of Argos and Corinth, where a tent of skins under an old olive tree affords them sufficient shelter, with a hedged-in inclosure protected by fierce dogs for their flocks. Such inclosures and even stalls are mentioned in Homer.

The price of a sheep at Athens in the fourth century B.C. seems to have varied from 10 to 20 drachmæ, its chief value being the quality of the wool. There is nothing very special known about goats, which were kept, as they now are, very much in the same way as sheep, and their hair used for making ropes and coarse stuffs.

42. In the same way we know little of **pigs**, beyond that their hides were used for rough coats, and that Homer's heroes were very fond of pork. We hear of large droves being kept in the mountainous parts of Arcadia, Laconia, and Ætolia, where they fed on the acorns in the oak woods. **Fowls** were not a usual article of diet, and are therefore not prominent in our accounts of Greek property. The cock is spoken of as a Persian bird, the pheasant as a Colchian, and peacocks were an object of curiosity at Athens in Pericles' day. The culture of **bees**, on the other hand, was of great importance, as it took the place of the sugar plantations of our day—all sweetmeats being flavoured with honey. That of Hymettus was, and is still, the best in Greece, though that mountain is very barren, and only produces very small wild plants, which, however, flower freely.

43. **General Estimate of Greek Property.**—It seems certain that the greatest part of the wealth of the Greeks consisted in these out-of-door possessions, which were managed by slave stewards and shepherds for their masters, if they lived in the city. There is reason to think that they neither laid up much money in banks, nor kept any great treasures in the way of changes of raiment, like the Orientals, nor in furniture and works of art, like the Romans and moderns. But owing to the many wars and invasions, this agricultural wealth was precarious, and liable to sudden destruction. House property, again, which in walled towns was pretty safe, is from its own nature perishable. Private wealth therefore was not great on the average, and the splendid monuments of Greek art in its best days were all the result of public spirit and not of private enterprise or bounty. A fortune of £50,000 in all kinds of property is the extreme limit we know of, and is spoken of much as £5,000,000 would be now-a-days.

44. Having now considered the dwellings, daily habits, and property of the Greek in themselves, we will describe his relation to his fellows—first of all to his household, his wife, children, and servants ; then to his fellow-citizens in business and pleasure, and to his gods in the exercise of his religion ; and lastly his notions of law and justice.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK AT HOME.

45. General Features of the Greek Household.—While the citizen prized above all things his liberty and his rights as a member of the state—a feeling which produced in many cases a citizen democracy—this principle was unknown within the household, in which he was a despot, ruling absolutely the inferior members, who had no legal status except as distinguished into free and slaves. The laws were very cautious about interfering with his rights, and he was permitted to exercise much injustice and cruelty without being punished. If in such a case he was murdered by his dependants, the whole household of slaves was put to death, unless the culprit was detected. Nor could a household exist (except perhaps in Sparta) without the master. If he died, his widow became again the ward of her father or eldest brother, or son ; and so strongly was this sometimes felt that men on their deathbeds betrothed their wives to friends, who were likely to treat them and their orphan children with kindness. Of course clever women and servants often practically had their own way, and ruled their lord or master ; but the theory of

the Greek home was nevertheless always that of an absolute monarchy, if not a despotism.

46. The Lady of the House—her Dress.—There were two distinct styles of female dress prevalent. The first was the Dorian, which was noted for its simplicity. Unmarried girls at Sparta often wore but a single light garment (*χιτώνιον*) fastened with clasps down the sides—a dress much criticized by their neighbours. Over this was the Doric *πέπλος*, fastened on the shoulders with clasps, and leaving the arms bare (cf. Fig. 6). The Ionians wore a long linen chiton with sleeves, which reached down to the ground, and over it a large flowing wrapper (*ιμάρτιον* and *ἀμπεχόνη*) fastened with a girdle, worn high or low according to fashion ; whereas the other band called *στρόφιον* was worn under the *χιτών*, and took the place of modern stays. As a general rule, unmarried women confined their hairdressing to mere artistic arrangement of the hair itself, while married women wore bands, fillets, nets, and coronets. Dyeing the hair was not uncommon, and the fashionable colour was auburn, or reddish fair hair. Women's shoes were very carefully made, and they carried fans and parasols, as may be seen in the terra-cotta figures so common in our museums. Both sexes wore rings, but in addition the women wore earrings, armlets, and ankle-rings, generally of gold. These were the ornaments against which lawgivers made enactments, and which were forbidden or discouraged in days of trouble or poverty. The ornaments of one rich lady are spoken of as worth 50 minæ (about £195), a very large sum in those days. The ordinary colour of women's dress was white, but saffron cloaks, and even flowered patterns, are mentioned.

47. Her Duties.—The constant outdoor life of the Greek gentleman, his many occupations in politics, and campaigns in war, must have made a



FIG. 6.—Female figure (Caryatid) in the long *χιτών*, and over it the Doric *πέπλος*.

sensible wife even more necessary than she is to modern men, and yet we do not find that any Greeks valued her high qualities for these important duties rightly except the Spartans. For among them alone we find the mistress of the house a person of real importance, appearing when she chooses in public, and even offering an opinion which is respected on public affairs. In cultivated Athens, on the contrary, she was only taught spinning and cooking, and what rude medicine might be wanting for the treatment of her household in trifling illness. One of her main duties was always the weighing out of wool to her women slaves, and her own working at the loom. If a lady of the higher classes, she was not supposed to appear to male visitors, but only saw her lady friends and her nearest male relatives in her own house. She seldom went out, except either to the funeral of a near relation or to some religious procession and sacrifice. Thus the liberty of women varied from a freedom as great as need be in Sparta to a life of seclusion and neglect at Athens. Other states may have held an intermediate position. As for the vaunted dignity and liberty of ladies in Homer, it is to be remarked that he speaks of the wives and daughters of reigning princes, who probably retained the same importance in historical Greece, wherever they were to be found. For example, aristocratic ladies, such as Cimon's sister, Elpinice, were unrestrained, even at Athens, and went where they chose. This was also the case everywhere with the poor people, who could not afford to keep their wives and daughters in the idleness and the restraint unfortunately so fashionable in higher life.

48. Her Rights.—In Homeric days we find the old barbarous custom still surviving of buying a girl from her father for a wife, and this was commonly done, unless the father himself offered her as a compliment. The father, however, usually gave her

an outfit from the price he received for her. In case of a separation this outfit came back to the father, but he was also obliged to restore the price he had received for his daughter. She does not appear to have had any legal rights whatever. In later days the custom of paying money was reversed, and the husband received with his wife a dowry, which was regarded as common property with his own, so long as she lived with him. In case of separation or divorce, this dowry had to be repaid to her father, and at Athens 18 per cent. was charged upon it in case of delay in repayment. In many states to marry a second wife during the life of the first was against the practice, and probably the law, of the Greeks, but concubinage was tolerated and even recognized by them, though a married woman had at Athens a right to bring an action for general ill-treatment (*δίκη κακώσεως*) against her husband, in which she was obliged to appear and give evidence in person. The dowry seems to have been partly intended as a useful obstacle to divorce, which required its repayment, but we find that heiresses made themselves troublesome by their airs of importance, and this is referred to in Greek literature, in which men are frequently advised not to marry above them in wealth or connections. As all citizens were considered equal in birth, and as marriages with aliens were illegal and void, we do not hear of advice to young men not to marry beneath them. To marry a poor citizen girl was always considered a good deed, and is commended as such.

49. Wedding Customs.—Though marriage among the Greeks was recognized thoroughly as a civil contract, for the purpose of maintaining the household, and raising citizens for the state, yet a religious solemnity was considered by them not less essential to its dignity than by us, and though this ceremony was not performed by an official priest, it consisted

in prayers and offerings to the gods who presided over marriage. These were generally Zeus, Hera, Aphrodite, and Artemis, but many local fashions existed. So also the full moon and the winter season were generally but not everywhere preferred. A bath in the most sacred water of the district was thought necessary before the union, by way of purification. Omens were carefully observed, and votive offerings dedicated to the gods. The preliminaries closed with a solemn sacrifice and feast combined (*προτέλεια*), at which the bride was present, closely veiled, with her female friends. This was often a large dinner party, for we find laws restricting the number to thirty, and complaints of the bad taste of much display. She was then brought in solemn procession late in the evening to her husband's house, generally on a carriage, with the bridegroom and his best man sitting at either side of her. Both were covered with garlands and perfumed, while the Hymenæus or marriage song was sung by the company to the sound of harps and flutes. The bride's mother had the special duty of carrying a torch behind the carriage, while the bridegroom's mother received them torch in hand at his door. The bride brought with her some household utensils, and was presented with others, and with sweetmeats, on her arrival. The next morning the married pair separated for a day (*ἀπαύλια*), and the bridegroom slept at the house of his father-in-law, when the bride sent him a present of a garment. Then only the young couple were to receive their friends, who offered congratulations and wedding-presents, which were called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*, because the bride unveiled herself to her friends on that day. Such were the general customs of a Greek marriage, but many old and rude habits survived in various places. Of these the most primitive was that of Sparta, where the bridegroom pretended to carry off his bride by violence, and visited her secretly

for some time even after his marriage. This marriage by capture is still common among savages, and points to a ruder state of life than the marriage by purchase, which was common in Homer's time.

50. Of the Birth and Treatment of Infants.

—When a child was born in the house, it was usual in Attica, and probably elsewhere also, to hang a wreath of olive in case of a boy, a fillet of wool in case of a girl, over the door. This served as an announcement to friends and neighbours. Greek law permitted the parents absolutely to dispose of it as their property, and there was no provision against exposing it, which was often done in the case of girls, in order to avoid expense. These exposed children if found and brought up, became the slaves of the finder. But on the other hand, the laws showed special favour to the parents of large families. If a child was not exposed, there followed on the fifth day a solemn purification of all the people in the house, and on the tenth a sacrifice, when the relations assembled and the child was named, generally after parents and grand-parents, sometimes by reason of special wants or fancies—in fact on the same principles which we follow in christening our children. There is no evidence until the later Macedonian times that birthday feasts were held yearly: and Epicurus' direction that his should be kept after his death was thought very peculiar. Children of rich people were often nursed by hired nurses—an employment to which respectable Athenian citizens were reduced in the hard times at the end of the Peloponnesian war. But a Lacedæmonian nurse was specially valued, and often bought at a great price among prisoners, as they were famed for bringing up the child without swaddling-clothes, and making him hardy and courageous. The Greeks used cradles for children as we do, and gave them honey as we do sugar, and the nurses represented on the vases are distinguished by a peculiar kerchief on the head, as

they often are in our day by a cap or national costume.

51. Of Toys and Games for Children.—As might be expected, the inventive genius of the Greeks showed itself in the constructing of all manner of toys, and children devised for themselves perhaps all the games now known and many more besides. Aristotle says you must provide them with toys, or they will break things in the house, and the older philosopher Archytas was celebrated for inventing the child's rattle. Plato also complains of the perpetual roaring of younger, and the mischievousness of older, children. We may infer from these things that the Greek boys were fully as troublesome as our own. They had balls, hoops (*τροχοί*), swings (*αιώραι*), hobbyhorses, and dice, with dolls for the girls, and various animals of wood and earthenware, like the contents of our Noah's arks. They played hide and seek, blind man's buff, French and English, hunt the slipper (*σχοινοφιλίνδα*), the Italian *morra*, and many other games which the scholiasts and Germans have in vain endeavoured to explain. But for grown people, we do not find many games, properly speaking, played for the game's sake, like our cricket. There was very simple ball playing, and, of course, gambling with dice. Of gymnastic exercises I will speak separately.

52. Greek Education generally.—As for the girls of the house, they were brought up to see and hear as little as possible. They only went out upon a few state occasions, and knew how to work wool and weave, as well as to cook. We may fairly infer that the great majority of them could not read or write. The boys, on the contrary, were subjected to the most careful education, and on no point did the Greek lawgivers and philosophers spend more care than in the proper training, both physical and mental, of their citizens. The modern system, however, of public school training was not practised anywhere save at Sparta,

where a state schoolmaster (*παιδορόμος*) was appointed, and all the Spartan boys taken out of the control of their parents. They lived together under the care of elder boys, as well as masters, so that the system of monitors, and even that of flogging, was in ordinary practice. They were encouraged to fight out their disputes, and were much given to sports and athletic amusements, just like our schoolboys. But the public school training and discipline lasted much longer at Sparta than among us, and embraced the university period, as well as the school period, of life.

53. In the other states of Greece, which were chiefly towns, or suburbs of towns, the system of day schools was universal, and the boys went to and from home under the charge of a special slave, chosen because he was no longer fit for hard work. He was called the boys' leader, or pedagogue (*παιδαγωγός*), a word which never meant schoolmaster among the Greeks, though it is so rendered in our English Bible (Gal. iii. 24). The discipline of boys was severe, and they were constantly watched and repressed, nor were they allowed to frequent the crowded market-place. Corporal punishment was commonly applied to them, and the quality most esteemed in boys was a blushing shyness and modesty, hardly equalled by the girls of our time. Nevertheless Plato speaks of the younger boys as the most sharpwitted, insubordinate, and unmanageable of animals.

54. **Of Schools and Schoolmasters.**—It does not seem that the office of schoolmaster was thought very honourable, except of course in Sparta, where he was a sort of Minister of Education. It was, as with us, a matter of private speculation, but controlled by police regulations that the school should open and close with sunrise and sunset and that no grown men should be allowed to go in and loiter there. The infant-school teachers, who merely taught children their letters (*γραμματοδιδάσκαλος*), were of a low class in society, some-

times even teaching in the open air, like the old hedge schoolmasters in Ireland. The more advanced teaching of reading and writing was done by the *γραμματικός*, whose house was called, like that of philosophers and rhetoricians, *σχολή*, a place of leisure. For the physical and the æsthetic side we have still to mention the trainer (*παιδοτρίβης*) and the teacher of music (*κιθαριστής*), the former of whom taught in the *palæstra* the exercises and sports afterwards carried on by the full-grown citizens in the *gymnasia*, which were a feature in all Greek towns. The teachers of riper youth stood in social position above the mere teachers of letters, but beneath the professors of rhetoric and philosophy (*sophists*). These latter performed the functions of college tutors at our universities, and completed the literary side of Greek education. The fees paid to the various teachers were in proportion to their social importance. Some of the sophists made great fortunes, and exacted very high fees ; the mere schoolmasters are spoken of as receiving a miserable pittance.

55. **Of what they Taught.**—The Greeks never thought of making foreign languages a matter of study, and contented themselves with learning to read and write their own. In so doing the schoolmasters used as text books the works of celebrated epic or elegiac poets, above all Homer, and then the proverbial philosophy of Hesiod, Solon, Phocylides, and others, so that the Greek boy read the great classics of his language at an early age. He was required to learn much of them by heart, especially when books were scarce ; and his teacher pointed out the moral lessons either professedly or accidentally contained in these poets. Thus they stood in the place of our Bible and Hymns in education. All this was *γραμματική*, which with music (*μουσική*) and gymnastics (*γυμναστική*) made up the general education of the Greeks. It excluded the elementary arithmetic of our “three R's,” and included what they do not, a gentlemanly

cultivation in music and field sports. It is very doubtful whether swimming was included, though Herodotus speaks of the Greeks generally as being able to swim. There is, however, evidence that from the fourth century B.C. onwards both elementary geometry and arithmetic, and also drawing, were ordinarily taught.

As regards music every Greek boy (like modern young ladies) either had or was supposed to have a musical ear, and he was accordingly taught either the harp or the flute, and with it singing. Here again the lyric poems of the greatest poets were taught him, and the Greek music always laid the greatest stress on the words. Aristotle and others complain that amateurs were spending too much time on the practising of difficult music, and we know from the musical treatises preserved to us that the Greeks thought and taught a great deal more about musical theory and the laws of sound than we do. The Greek tunes preserved are not pleasing, but we know that they used the strictest and most subtle principles in tuning instruments, and understood harmony and discord as well as we do. Great Athenians, like Cimon, were often able to sing and accompany themselves on the harp, or lyre as we should rather call it. The Greeks laid great stress on the moral effects of music, especially as regards the performer, and were very severe in their censure of certain styles of music. They distinguished their scales as *modes*, and are said to have put far greater stress on keys than we do, calling some manly and warlike (Dorian), others weak and effeminate, or even immoral (Mixo-Lydian). The modern Chinese have the same beliefs about the moral effects of music. The Greeks had their keynote in the middle of the scale, and used chiefly the minor scale of our music. They had different names and signs for the notes of the various octaves which they used, and also different signs for vocal and for instrumental music.

56. Gymnastics.—Among the various exercises

taught were those in fashion at the public contests in the games—throwing the discus, running, and wrestling, and those of use in war—throwing the dart, managing the sword and shield, and riding. Boxing was not highly esteemed, and seems not to have been properly understood by the Greeks, who would have had no chance against an English prize-fighter. The severest contest was the *pancratior* (*παγκράτιον*), where the combatants, who were naked and unarmed, were allowed to use any violence they liked to overcome their adversary. It was therefore a combination of boxing, wrestling, and kicking, with occasional biting and gouging by way of additional resource. We hear of a wonderful jumping feat by Phayllus of Croton, who leaped forty-nine (!) feet ; but as he probably jumped down-hill, and used artificial aids, we cannot be sure that (if true) it was more than can be done now. The Spartans specially forbade boxing and the pancration, because the vanquished was obliged to confess his defeat and feel ashamed ; and they did not tolerate professional trainers. All the special exercises for developing muscle practised in our gymnasia seem to have been known, and they were all practised naked, as being sunburnt was highly valued. The Greeks smeared themselves first with oil and then with sand before their exercises, and cleaned themselves with a scraper or *strigil*, or in later days by taking a bath.

57. Customs on Coming of Age.—Most Greek states seem to have wished to free young men as soon as possible from the control of their parents. Hence, having passed the age of boyhood, when they were called children (*παιδες*), they were made *εφηβοι*, or “men of age,” at the age of seventeen or eighteen, when they were enrolled solemnly in the list of citizens. This was done at Athens with a religious service, and with a solemn oath on the part of the youth, who declared his allegiance to the laws and to the religion of his city, and promised to defend it against all enemies.

and seditions. He was then enrolled on the list of his deme or parish, and this roll was called *τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*. He was then competent to join in debate at the assembly, to plead in court, to marry, and perform all the duties of citizenship. It is not clear how he stood as regards his father, except that, if the latter became unable to manage his estate, the son could have him so declared by an action in court, and so become the owner during his father's life. Before the young men settled down, they were employed for two years in outlying garrison duty and in patrolling the frontiers of the land, during which time they were called *περιπολοι*. This gave them the necessary training for war, and made them acquainted with the bounds of their country. Many remains of these frontier forts which were once garrisoned by the youth of Athens still survive in Attica.

58. The Servants of the House.—These were of course slaves, with the exception of some field-labourers, and of nurses in times of depression and distress, when some free women went out for hire. To these cases we may add the cook (*μάγειρος*), who was not an inmate of the house before the Macedonian time, but was hired for the day when wanted for a dinner party. All the rest were slaves, and were very numerous in every respectable household. The principal sorts of servants were as follows: there was a general steward (*προστάτης*); a butler (*ταμίας* or *ταμία*) who had charge of the storeroom and cellar; a marketing slave (*ἀγοραστής*); a porter (*θυρωρός*); baking and cooking slaves (*σιτοποιοί*, *όψοποιοί*) for preparing the daily meals; an attendant (*άκολονθος*) upon the master in his walks, and this was an indispensable servant; a nurse (*τίτθη*), an escort (*παιδαγωγός*) for the children (cf. § 53); and a lady's-maid (*κομμωτρία*, and especially *αἴρα*). In richer houses there was also a groom or mule-boy (*όρεωκόμος*). This list shows a subdivision of labour more like the habits of our East-Indian families

than those of ordinary households in England. I have spoken above (§ 37) of the purchasing and value of these slaves. If faithful, they were often made free, especially by the will of their master on his death-bed, but they did not become citizens. They remained in the position of resident aliens under the patronage of their former master or his representatives.

59. In proportion as the free population of Greece diminished the freeing of slaves became more and more common, until it actually appears to have been the leading feature in the life of the small towns. Thousands of inscriptions recording this setting free of individual slaves are still found, and on so many various stones, even tombstones, that it almost appears as if material for recording had failed them by reason of the quantity of these documents. The same increase of liberation was a leading feature in the Roman empire, but there the freedman obtained the right and position of a citizen, which was not the case in Greece. The most enlightened moralists of both countries exhorted benevolence towards slaves, and the frequent freeing of them as the duty of humane masters, but none of these writers ever dreamt of the total abolishing of slavery, which they all held to be an institution ordained by nature. This seems also the view of the early Christian writers, who nowhere condemn the principle of slavery as such.

60. **The Domestic Animals.**—These were first the horses and mules, which do not seem to have been treated with any great familiarity, but were carefully groomed, and after exercise were allowed to roll in sand before being brought in—a treatment still common in Southern Italy, where the old Greek fashion of driving four in hand abreast also prevails. The two centre horses were yoked to the pole, the others were fastened by loose traces, and called *παράσειροι* (outriggers). The commonest and most valued domestic animal was the dog, which maintains a very impor-

tant place in Greek society up to the present day. There were various kinds of breeds for hunting, chosen both for nose and for speed ; there were watch-dogs ; and also ornamental kinds, such as the little lap-dogs, which are represented in the sad scenes of leave-taking on the tombs. Many anecdotes are told of their faithfulness, and we hear of at least one case where a handsome dog which belonged to Alcibiades cost about 70*l.* Instead of cats, they used marten-cats ($\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma$), often charged with the breaking of household ware by guilty servants, and they are also described as wandering along the roofs of houses. Sundry birds were kept in cages, and for ornament, such as pheasants and peacocks ; the quail was used for combats corresponding to English cock-fights.

61. **Customs of Burial.**--I will conclude our consideration of the Greek household by describing the customs when death laid its hand upon one of the inmates.

At the moment of the death-struggle the face was veiled, that no man might see it ; then it was uncovered for a moment to close his eyes and mouth. The body was then washed by female relatives, scented with unguents, dressed in white and with a garland, and placed upon a couch adorned with branches, and with an unguent-bottle ($\lambda\acute{\imath}\kappa\nu\theta\omega\zeta$) beside it. This laying out ($\pi\rho\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\zeta$) was done in the entrance-hall of the house, and the feet were turned to the door. Outside was a cypress branch and water for sprinkling those who came out, as the dead defiled the house and its inmates. The laying out was limited to one day, during which both male and female relatives, together with hired mourners, stood round the bier, and uttered laments in refrain very like the *Irish cry* of our day. This almost universal custom in Asia was discountenanced and restricted by Greek lawgivers, especially the tearing of the hair and laceration of the face which accompanied it. Burial took place in the morning

dawn, before the sun could shine upon the corpse ; in later days a small coin was placed in his mouth to pay his passage in the nether world—a custom which still survives in some parts of Greece. In the funeral procession the male relatives went before, the female followed after, and in Athens and other places where women lived secluded only aged women and near relatives were allowed to attend, as young men took this opportunity of seeing the ladies, who were at other times invisible. When the dead was laid in the tomb, he was called by name aloud, and farewell (*χαιρε*) was bidden him. There was afterwards a funeral feast, and offerings at the tomb, but the time of mourning and of wearing black or grey garments was short ; in Sparta twelve days, at Athens a month ; at Ceos, exceptionally, a mother mourned her growing son for a whole year. Praising speeches were not delivered over private persons as at Rome, but only in the case of a public funeral, such as that of the bones of the dead who had fallen in battle, and were burned on the battle-field. These ashes were brought home in urns, and treated as the corpses of the dead would have been at home. The burning of the dead, though known early, and often practised in war and travel, was decidedly the exception. To cast earth upon the dead was of the last importance, and even when the body could not be found, an empty grave received the due honours.

62. Sepulchral Monuments.—In the oldest times the dead were buried in their own ground, and close beside the house they had occupied. Afterwards the burying of the dead within the walls of cities was forbidden except in the case of great public benefactors, who were worshipped as heroes and had a shrine set over them. The rest were buried in the fairest and most populous suburb, generally along both sides of the high road, as at Athens and at Syracuse, where their tombs and the inscriptions occupied the attention of everyone that passed by. The oldest

and rudest monuments placed over the tomb were great mounds of earth, then these mounds came to be surrounded by a circle of great stones; afterwards chambers were cut underground in the earth or rock, and family vaults established. Handsome monuments in marble, richly painted and covered with sculpture, were set up over the spot. These monuments sometimes attained a size almost as great as a temple. The scenes sculptured on the marble were from the life and occupation of the deceased, more often parting scenes, where they were represented taking leave of their family and friends, nor do we possess any more beautiful and touching remains of Greek life than some of these tombs. In the chamber of the dead many little presents, terra-cotta figures, trinkets, and vases were placed, nay, in early times favourite animals, and even slaves or captives were sacrificed in order to be with him; for the Greeks believed that though the parting with the dead was for ever, he still continued to exist, and to interest himself in human affairs and in pursuits like those of living men. The crowded suburbs where the tombs were placed were generally ornamented with trees and flowers, and were a favourite resort of the citizens.

The dead bodies of executed criminals were either given back to their relations, or, in extreme cases, cast into a special place, generally some natural ravine or valley hidden from view and ordinary thoroughfare. Here the executioner dwelt, who was generally a public slave (*δημόκουνος*). This place was called *barathrum* at Athens, and *Ceadas* at Sparta.

CHAPTER IV.

PUBLIC LIFE OF THE GREEK CITIZEN.

We now pass to the consideration of the life of the Greek as regards society—his relation to his fellow citizens beyond the pale of his household.

63. Ranks and Classes in Greek Society.—

The aristocracy of the older Greek society was one based on the exclusive owning of land and of civic rights, and was not marked by titles as among us, but by the name of the clan. Thus at Athens an Alcmæonid was respected much as the member of an old Scottish clan is now by his fellows. But poverty injured the position of the old Greek more than that of the Scotchman. In aristocratic societies all work in the way of trade or business was despised by the landed gentry, and idleness was called the sister of freedom. In such states (as, for example, in Sparta) the pursuit of a trade often disqualified a man from political rights, and in any case, deprived him of all public influence. This feeling did not die out even in the complete democracies of later days, and there was always a prejudice in the Greek mind against trades and handicrafts, because they compelled men to sit at home and neglect the proper training of the body by sports, and the mind by society. Mercantile pursuits (*ἐμπορία*) were also objected to by Greek gentlemen, but on different grounds. It was considered that the making of profits by retail trading (*καπηλεία*) was of the nature of cheating, and the life of a merchant in any Greek city not his own was always one of dependence and fear, for nowhere were aliens treated with real justice and liberality. Thus even the poor citizen of Athens, living by the small pay (4½*d.* daily) given him for sitting on juries, and per-

forming other public duties, looked down with contempt upon the rich tradesman, who was confined all day to a close dark shop, or still worse did his work in the hot atmosphere of a furnace (*βάραυσος*). Consequently the greater part of the shops in Athens, and most of the trades were in the hands of licensed aliens (*μέτοικοι*), who paid certain taxes to the state, and by making large profits recouped themselves for the risk of being persecuted and plundered by the citizens in days of danger and distress. These people may be compared as to their social and political position with the Jews in the middle ages, who lived all through the cities of Europe without civic rights, or landed property, merely by trade and usury. They were despised and persecuted, but still tolerated as useful, and even necessary, by the governments of those days. Rich capitalists on the contrary, who were able to manage a large business through an overseer and a number of slaves, were not at all despised, even though their ways of making profits were sometimes very shameful. But any free man who was compelled by poverty to perform this manual labour was held little better than a slave. There were certain privileged classes (*δημιοεργοι*) in Homer's day, such as the leech, the seer, the bard, and the cunning worker of bronze. So in later days the sculptor and the sophist were in some respects considered good society, but still the gaining of money by giving up their time to others told very seriously against them.

64. **The Principal Trades.**—A great part of the ordinary clothing and breadstuffs were prepared by the slave within the Greek house. The principal tradesmen who supplied the other necessities of life were the architect, who was often a great and important person—indeed the only tradesman very honourably mentioned : under him masons (*λιθολόγοι*), carpenters (*τέκτονες*), and cabinet-makers. There were potters (*κεραμεῖς*), who must have been a very large body.

considering the great demand for their wares, as neither glass nor wooden vessels were much used. So there were separate makers of lamps, jewelry, weapons of war, musical instruments, (*λυχνοποιοί, μαχαιροποιοί* &c.). There were a few weavers, and hardly any tailors, as the forms of dress were perfectly simple and the fashions did not change, but many bleachers (*γναφεῖς*) and dyers of clothes (*βαφεῖς*). The making of shoes (*σκυτογομία*) was even subdivided among several tradesmen. There were in the market, cooks (hired by the day), ropemakers (*σχοινιοστρόφοι*), tanners (*βυρσοδέψαι*), and also many perfumers and druggists. Tanners were generally compelled to have their workshops outside the city. We may also without doubt consider military service by sea or land one of the ordinary trades of Greece, practised from very early times in Asia, and all through Greek history by the Arcadians who were the Swiss of the old world. The usual pay for a mercenary soldier or sailor was four obols, which was of course often raised in times of difficulty. When the former outlet which enterprising young men had found in new colonies throughout Asia Minor, Pontus, and Magna Graecia, was closed by the rise of new races and new empires, this trade, disreputable as it was, became very common indeed. The celebrated 10,000 whom Xenophon brought safely from the heart of the Persian empire were an army made up of these adventurers, who had followed the younger Cyrus merely for the sake of pay and plunder. Thus Agesilaus and Cleomenes kings of Sparta were not ashamed to serve in Egypt as mercenaries.

65. **Mercantile Pursuits.**—We may first notice the lower sort, the retail merchants (*κάπηλοι*) who were employed in buying the husbandman's and the tradesman's goods, and selling them in the markets, or through the towns, at a profit. It was indeed much in fashion among the Greeks to sell one's own produce in the market, but of course such people as fishermen,

or as shepherds, could not leave their business to journey often a long way to a market-town. Thus we find in large places like Athens a great many fish-mongers, vegetable and other grocers, and particularly wine sellers, who went about with their wine in carts. All these people were accused of extortion and insolence, the fishmongers of selling stale fish, the vintners of watering their wine (a very harmless adulteration). There were street cries, and often even the buyer going into the market called out what he wanted.

66. The wholesale merchant was of course a more important person, and the rise of this larger trade was in fact what raised up a wealthy city class in opposition to the landed aristocracy, and was generally the cause of overthrowing oligarchies. Many respectable citizens (except in Sparta) thought it no disgrace to follow this sort of business, and none of them scorned to invest money in it as a speculation. As the land traffic in Greece is unusually difficult and roundabout, almost all commerce was carried on by sea, so that a merchant (*ἐμπόρος*) was often called a skipper (*ῥαύκληρος*). We are fully informed about Athenian commerce only (§ 19).

We must imagine the Greek waters not as they are now, lonely and desolate, with often not a single boat to give life to a great bay or reach of water, but rather covered in the summer with traffic and with life, so much so that a Greek poet speaks of sailors as the 'ants of the sea,' hurrying in all directions with ceaseless industry. There were public wharfs and warehouses (*δείγματα*) close to the quays, where the skipper brought samples of his cargo. With the exception of the corn and slave factors, the Greek merchants did not confine themselves to trading in one kind of goods, but conveyed anything according as they saw chances of profit. Pottery from Samos and Athens, fine woollen stuffs and Assyrian carpets from Miletus, paper, unguents, and

glass from Egypt, salt fish, skins, and corn from the Black Sea, ship timber and slaves from Thrace and Macedonia, ivory and spices from Cyrene—these were among the usual articles imported and exported through the Greek waters. Merchants were in some places treated with peculiar favour, had their taxes and military duty forgiven, and above all, were granted a speedy trial, and in the idle winter months, in case of disputes about contracts, or other lawsuits.

67. Of Weights, Measures and Coinage.—All these great helps to trade were originally imported from Babylon or Egypt through the Phœnicians into Greece, but with so many variations that the computing of values according to the different standards is very intricate.

As to measures of length it seems that the Olympic stadium or furlong was generally received through Greece. It was about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of our geographical mile, and was divided into six plethra of 100 feet each, and into 100 ὄργυαι (the German **Klafter**) of six feet. Each foot, which was nearly equal to our English foot, was divided into four hands (*παλαισται*) and each of these into four fingers (*δάκτυλοι*). The ell or cubit (*πῆχυς*) was six hands or $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Surfaces were measured by the **plethrum** squared, and with similar subdivisions. The *σπιθαμή* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *πῆχυς*.

Cubic measures started from the half-pint (*κοτύλη*) used for both fluids and solids. In the former, twelve *κοτύλαι* made a *χοῦς*, and 144 *κοτύλαι* a *μετρητής* or *ἀμφορεύς*, which was like our cask or barrel. In dry measures four *κοτύλαι* made a *χοῖνιξ*, thirty-two *κοτύλαι* a *έκτεύς*, 192 a *medimnus*.

In these measures the *Æginetan*, Attic, and Olympic standards varied. The latter, though originally brought from Babylon, was somewhat smaller, the cubic foot being only $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Babylonian. To this Olympic cubic foot the Attic was as 27 to 20, the *Æginetan* as 9 to 4. Similarly as to weight, the

Babylonians had fixed a cubic foot of rain water as the standard weight of their talent. The Attic talent of weight was much smaller, and was besides only $\frac{2}{3}$ the weight of their *μετρητής* of water, whereas the Æginetan was nearly equal to the Babylonian, as was the older Eubœic talent, reduced by Solon.

All the various talents however agreed in having 60 **minæ**; each mina 100 **drachmæ**, each drachme 6 **obols**. The term Æginetan and Eubœic point to the fact that the early Greek trade was chiefly in the hands of these people, where the weights and coinage were first fixed, just as the Attic standard became almost universal afterwards. The Attic talent weighed about 236*l.*, the mina accordingly about 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, the drachme 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, the drachme 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, the obolus 1.6*d.* This Attic drachme was of **silver**, which was the only metal habitually coined for a long time in Greece, as gold was very scarce. The Macedonian mines first produced gold enough for ordinary coinage. So also copper coinage came in from Sicily and Magna Græcia, where the talent was regarded as a weight of **copper**, and only equal to six (or even less) Attic drachmæ. There were at Athens silver pieces of four and eight drachmæ, and even half and quarter obols. Later, and in copper coinage, each obol was divided into eight *χαλκοῖ*, these each into seven *lepta*, so that there was a coin in use less than the $\frac{1}{9}$ th of our farthing. This shows how much scarcer money was then than now, and how the public treasures and private fortunes, which seem to us so small, were really large. Homer's *talent of gold* was a small weight, afterwards unknown.

Debasement of the coinage, and using alloy, were common devices among the Greeks, whose local coins seem seldom to have had any general currency. It was specially noted of the Attic money, that it passed everywhere, on account of its excellence, just as English gold and notes now command respect abroad. But the people had, as I have observed, no token money, like our paper coinage, except in the few

isolated instances where they used iron money, of which we hear at Byzantium. I have remarked above (§ 34) on the nature of their banks and banking. Such a thing as a traffic in money, or a stock exchange, was unknown to them, and we find intelligent men of business in Demosthenes' day supposed to have hidden money (during peace) in the ground, a practice which proves a complete ignorance of the value of investment.

68. The Higher Professions—(1.) Politics.

—The general principle of Greek states was to consider high political office as both a duty and an honour, but not a profession, so that, as with our seats in Parliament, no salaries were attached to such duties. It is certain however that the indirect profits were very great, inasmuch as the bribery of that day was applied, not to the electors, but to the holders of even very high office. This form of corruption is said to exist even now in Greece, where bribery of electors is very rare. The lower state officials, such as secretaries and heralds, were paid moderate salaries.

When Athens became an imperial city, the sovereign people were paid sundry emoluments from the taxes of their subjects. For example, those Athenian citizens who were employed as **dicasts** or judges in court received 3 obols per day—an income on which most of the poorer citizens lived. They were also paid by public distribution a sufficient sum for their entrance to the theatre, and to enjoy themselves, at the great festivals of the city. These profits were the direct result of political privileges.

69. (2.) War.

—As the trade of mercenary warfare was common, so that of mercenary general was practised, even by distinguished Greeks, such as Agesilaus and Cleomenes, in later days. The pay being only four times that of the common soldier, it is evident that extortion and plunder must have been presupposed as an additional means of gain, and this was the case

with many of the older citizen generals of whom we read in history, such as Pausanias, Themistocles and others. The profession of military engineer was not common, but was practised with success and fame by a few remarkable men, such as Artemon, whose mechanical genius made them very valuable.

70. (3.) **Law.**—As men pleaded their own case among the Greeks, the legal profession, as far as we know, could only give friendly advice, or compose speeches for litigants, and this was an extended and lucrative profession at Athens. In some cases friends or supporters (*συνήγοροι*) were allowed to speak in addition to the actual litigants, but paid counsel were not directly recognised. When the state retained what we should call a crown prosecutor, he was only paid one drachme (9½d.) for a speech, which even at the then value of money, is apparently a very trifling fee. But distinguished orators like Demosthenes obtained large private fees. There was also in almost all democracies special encouragement, in the absence of crown lawyers, for any citizen to denounce any violation of the laws which he could detect. This gave rise to a profession called **sycophancy**, which usually degenerated into that of a spy or informer; and such men constantly extracted money from rich people and from politicians by threats of accusation.

71. (4.) **Literature.**—In addition to the school-masters, who were not in high repute, and were rather considered a trade than a profession (cf. § 54), there were the **sophists**, who were both rhetoricians and philosophers, and who performed exactly the functions now expected from universities, as distinguished from schools. People spoke of a pupil of Isocrates as they now do of 'an Oxford man.' These men taught politics, rhetoric, literary criticism, and higher science in a practical way, and made large incomes in spite of their great unpopularity with the old-fashioned side of both political and social Greece. At first they obtained

enormous fees, but by competition these were reduced to an average of from five to ten minæ for a course of instruction. Their course lasted about three years.

We do not hear of any **authors** making a livelihood by their work, except poets, who were largely paid for occasional poems by both states and kings, and whose dramatic works were a source of profit as well as honour. Copies of books were easily multiplied by means of slave labour, so that we hear of Anaxagoras' treatise being sold for one drachme, when very dear. This was at a regular book-stall in Athens, from whence books were actually an article of exportation as far as the Black Sea. Still collections of books were rare till after the time of Euripides, and we know of no fortunes made by writing books. Anaxagoras himself, though so popular with the rising generation, is said to have died in poverty. There can be no doubt the old epic rhapsodists lived at the courts of kings by way of direct remuneration for their poems.

72. (5.) **Fine Arts.**—As might be guessed from the ruins of their work, the profession of architects was esteemed far the greatest among artists, and was the most richly paid. They were no doubt men of culture, and were literary men, as for example, Ictinus, one of the architects of the Parthenon, who wrote a special work about the great temple. The professions of sculptor and painter were not so at first, the sculptor being hardly more than a skilful workman, and this seems to be the case in most great art epochs. Men like Pheidias and Polygnotus, who were of a higher level, often worked without accepting any pay, but the sculptors who adorned the Erechtheum at Athens, one of the most beautiful of Greek temples, were either paid by the day from one to two drachmæ, or by the job, receiving 200 to 240 drachmæ (under £10) for each figure or small group of figures. This was in Pericles' time, when art had reached its highest perfection. But in later days enormous prices were given for great statues and pictures.

At the same time inferior artists had a hard and struggling position.

Similarly in music, though amateur singing and playing were very common, it was not thought gentlemanly to live by them, and professional musicians were ranked with actors and jugglers, and the other classes who lived by amusing the rich. At later periods, however, both celebrated musicians and celebrated actors became important personages, and were courted by a society which had abandoned higher and more serious pursuits.

73. (6.) Medicine and Surgery.—The medical profession had always a high position in Greek life, from the days of Machaon and Podalirius, in Homer, down to the doctors of Plato's day, who sometimes brought an orator with them to persuade the patient to take their remedies. This was done because it was the fashion to discuss everything in Greece, and people were not satisfied to submit silently to anybody's prescriptions, either in law, politics, religion or medicine. There were not, besides, any accredited bodies, like our universities, and hospital schools, whose degrees were acknowledged all over Greece, though certain medical guilds enjoyed considerable fame.

There was of course a great deal of superstitious quackery, which dealt in amulets and charms, and there were slave assistants, who visited slave patients, but the higher members of the profession were not only well paid, but appointed publicly by the various cities as official physicians. These salaries at times reached 450*l.* a year—a very large income in Greece. Such men gave advice without special fees.

The most famous schools of medicine were at Croton, Cnidus, Rhodes, and Cos, where the name of Hippocrates is celebrated as the founder. These schools were guilds or trade unions, into which the apprentice entered with a very remarkable and solemn oath. Such accredited physicians were specially exempted by law

in some cities from prosecution for manslaughter, if their patients died. The descriptions of the symptoms and the treatment of various diseases still preserved in the works attributed to Hippocrates, are so striking for their good sense and acute observation, that the most competent judges consider them the foundation of all rational medicine in Europe.

74. (7.) **Religious Offices.**—Besides the various travelling soothsayers and diviners, who may be compared to the mendicant monks in Italy, and who had neither character nor consideration, there were many hereditary priesthoods attached to special temples, with small duties and large emoluments, and such places were at times bought for money, like our livings. There were also unattached prophets of high character like Lampon who led the colony to Thurii—men of mark and influence. We have no information left us about their incomes.

75. **Social Amusements.**—By way of transition to the religion of the Greeks, a word may be said upon their social intercourse of a lighter kind. This may be divided into **Entertainments, Visits, Athletic Meetings and Festivals**, if we may separate, for arrangement's sake, things usually combined.

According to Homer, the chiefs seem prepared at all hours to sit down to a heavy meal of roast meat, bread, and wine, without special regard to hours. But the regular time for their *δεῖπνον*, or dinner, was midday, as is almost universally the case in undeveloped society. The evening meal was similar, and was called *δόρπον*, so that the meals of the Homeric chiefs corresponded exactly to those of the modern Greeks. But as in modern Europe, so in old Greece, the hour of dinner was gradually pushed back from noon to afternoon, and then to evening, so that, in historical days, we must not imagine a dinner party much before five o'clock.

When a Greek gentleman went out to dinner, he brought

an attendant slave with him, who often served him at his host's table (as is still the custom in the wild parts of Greece), but at all events took charge of his shoes, which he put off on entering. He was then offered water to be poured over his hands. The guests assembled in the dining-room itself, and took their places on couches, to which they went up by a stool. In Homeric times people used to sit, each at a separate small table. With the increase of luxury men came to lie, resting on their elbows, whereas children and respectable ladies, if they dined with men at all, were always required to sit, and at separate tables from the men. Two, or at most three, lay on each couch, and had a table to themselves. Three tables were set in the form of a hollow square. The dinner consisted of herbs, salt fish and oysters, by way of preliminary relish, then came the first course (*πρώτη τράπεζα*), of fish, flesh and fowl, cooked in various ways, after it the second, which was of sweetmeats (*τραγήματα*). It was not customary to drink any wine during dinner, but, possibly, water. At its conclusion water was poured by slaves on the hands of the guests, which had already been wiped by morsels of dough, which they threw under the table, and a taste of unmixed wine was taken as a sort of toast to the 'good daemon' (at least in Attica). Then came the pæan or grace, and then the tables were cleared or changed for drinking. The wine was mixed in a large vessel (*κρητίρ*), of which three were generally in the room; and as each was broached by the slaves, a libation was offered to the Olympic gods from the first, the heroes from the second, and to Zeus Soter from the third. The guests were generally crowned with garlands, and drank mutual healths. Then conversation began and songs with or without the lyre, also riddles and jokes, and above all **scolia**, which consisted in one man starting a song which must be continued in metre and sense by any guest to whom he handed

the myrtle branch which he held. They also played **cottabos**, which was the throwing of the last drops in their cup into a metal bowl, and taking the sound as an omen in their love affairs. There were besides professional makers of amusement, jesters who came in uninvited (parasites), and were made the butt of the company, jugglers who performed their tricks, and even had a sort of ballet danced by their attendants. There were also dancing girls and flute girls, who were dispensed with in serious society. Games, such as dice and draughts, were common, but not perhaps in the evening. The conduct of late drinking parties was not very different from what it now is.

76. Visits and Travelling.—Seeing that the Greek inns offered (as they now do) very bad accommodation, and were besides kept by extortionate people, and often of ill-repute, it was not usual for the Greeks to travel for pleasure, unless they either went to a public feast or athletic meeting, where special accommodation was provided, or to a private guest-friend, who invited them to his house in a foreign city.

In all the larger Greek towns the art collections were always the main object of curiosity, which every one went to see. There were the temples either venerable for age, or remarkable for architectural splendour, and in them the statues of the Gods, and the portraits of heroes and victors which were the work of famous sculptors. The inner walls of both temples and porticoes were often covered with frescoes, and had even separate pictures hung upon them. In fact just as we now-a-days go to see in such a town as Antwerp or Rouen the churches, the pictures, the statues or carvings, and the antiquities, so every educated Greek enjoyed the arts, and thought his life incomplete without having seen their highest products. Crowds went to see the Pheidian statue of Zeus at Olympia, the Eros of Praxiteles at Thespiae, the cow of Myron at Athens. Such great

works were constantly copied, and to this practice we owe the inestimable benefit of finding in Roman galleries close imitations of the Greek masterpieces brought from Greece itself.

Each important state was indeed represented in considerable cities by a **proxenus**, who corresponds to our modern consuls, but of course he could not be expected to offer hospitality to all travellers, though he did so to official visitors. Every distinguished family had accordingly family friends in foreign cities to whom they were bound by mutual ties of hospitality. These friendships (*ξερίαι*) were handed down from generation to generation, and when the traveller had never seen his host (*ξένος*) he often brought with him a token formerly given to his family by the family which he went to visit. On his arrival the host gave him a separate set of apartments (*τὸν ξερῶνα*), and supplied him with light, firing and salt; he also sent him his dinner the first day, and invited him to dine afterwards, but for the rest the guest was attended by his own servants, and supplied himself. As to the actual travelling, so much of it was done by sea, that there seem to have been but indifferent means of journeying on land. To Delphi, Olympia, and such public resorts there were good roads, which could be travelled in carriages, but elsewhere pack mules and riding, or even walking was, as it now is, the only way of crossing the country, and was indeed called walking (*βαδίζειν*). The slaves often carried the luggage, which included bedding, as the Greeks commonly slept on the ground, wrapped in rugs. On sea the means of communication were very ample and very cheap. But the accommodation was very bad, in no way better than that of our steerage passengers, and often without any covering. However, people only travelled by sea in the fine season, and when the summer heat makes all cabins unbearable.

77. Athletic Meetings.—Contests (*ἀγῶνες*) were always held conjointly with festivals (*πανηγύρεις*), and there were hardly any great festivals without athletic meetings, so that in this article and the next we must separate two phases in the greatest and most complex enjoyment of Greek society. In fact the Greeks always combined religion with sport. The greatest of these meetings was undoubtedly that held at Olympia every five years, at which victors may have been recorded since 776 B.C. It was gradually thrown open to all Peloponnesians, then to all European Greeks, and finally to all the colonies, in 620 B.C. This extension was followed by the founding in rapid succession of the public contests at Delphi (586), the Isthmos of Corinth (582), and Nemea (576 B.C.). They were celebrated in honour of the peculiar god honoured at the place—Apollo at Delphi, Poseidon at the Isthmus, Zeus at Nemea and Olympia. There was a solemn truce declared throughout Greece during the Olympic games, and all the world flocked thither to enjoy the sports, meet their friends, transact mercantile or even political business, and publish or advertise new works and new inventions. It was in fact a great *kermesse* or church feast and holy day, such as were held in mediæval Europe. At Delphi musical and poetical contests predominated, but at the others the athletic elements. There were also horse races (*ἀγῶνες ἵππικοι*) with chariots, and for riders.

78. The athletic contests consisted of races of 200 yards (called *στάδιον*, from being a single length of the course), 400 (*διάυλον*, or double the course), then a mile and a half, called *δόλιχος*, from being round and round the course, and also a race in full panoply. But for the pentathlon or contest of five kinds, in which the winner must be best in three, there was a short race (*δρόμος*), wrestling (*πάλη*), boxing (*πυγμῆ*), throwing the discus, and throwing the spear. The competitors were trained very carefully, and were submitted to the

most careful inquiry as to pure Hellenic parentage and honourable character by the **Hellanodicai** or judges, who were chosen a year before each feast, and who made their duties a matter of deep study.

79. Though extraordinary feats were sometimes recorded (cf. § 56), probably the Greeks did not understand athletics at all so well as the English do. Two facts may be mentioned in proof of this. The runners are said to have started shouting. The boxers, who had their fists weighted with loaded leather gloves, swung round at one another's ears, instead of striking straight home. What we hear about their training seems equally stupid; their trained men are described as generally sleepy, they fed on enormous quantities of meat, and were obliged to swear that they had spent ten months in training before the games. Good generals, such as Alexander and Philopoemen, discountenanced athletics as producing bad soldiers. But, nevertheless, the combination of art contests with athletics made the Greek meetings finer and more imposing than ours.

80. **Musical and Dramatic Contests.**—For in addition to athletic games, many musical and poetical contests were encouraged at the festivals, as for example, at the Pythian games, held at Delphi, and at the Dionysia, held at Athens. So much did these competitions come into fashion, that the best advertisement and publication of a new poem, or of a novelty in music, was its production on one of these occasions. The great tragedies handed down to us were all composed in this way, and brought out at Athens in honour of the god Dionysus. For a fee of two obols, granted him by the state, every citizen and his wife, at some contests even resident strangers, could go and sit in the theatre, and hear four plays of *Æschylus* pitted against four plays of *Sophocles*, and four of *Euripides*. The endurance of an audience not given to reading, and not fond of staying at home, is of course much greater than that of our modern

play-going people ; and besides these plays were only brought out twice a year, and were always new plays, and often of great merit. But even with all these allowances, it is not easy to conceive how the audience could endure and enjoy so much. They are said to have had wine and sweetmeats handed round to them during the play, and Aristotle alludes to their eating such sweetmeats when the acting was bad. A certain number of judges were chosen by lot, and they assigned the prize (originally a goat) to the poet of the best plays. The tragedies, which had a satyric or serio-comic drama added by way of contrast to each group of them, were even more relieved by the comedies, of which we have splendid specimens in the remaining plays of Aristophanes. These were the bitterest satires on the politics, the manners, and the tendencies of the day, and with no lack of coarseness and ribaldry, gave a great deal of sound advice, and a great deal of wholesome reproof. They corresponded very much to our leading articles and reviews. To these women were not admitted.

Such intellectual feasts, provided in the service of religion, but really becoming an engine in the politics and the culture of the day, must have been a most anxiously looked for and important amusement among the citizens of all important Greek cities. The huge remains of the Greek theatres in various places—Syracuse, Argos, Athens, and even in small and obscure towns, show how the whole population must have resorted to them. Indeed in later days, the theatres became places of assembly for the people in democratic cities.

81. Festivals.—As the games and dramatic shows were in honour of the gods, or sometimes in honour of deceased heroes—such as those at Patroclus' funeral, described in the *Iliad*—so they were originally a secondary part which gained the upper hand ; the real celebration consisted in sacrifices, prayers, and solemn

processions (*πρόσοδοι*). These sacrifices were combined with public feasts, as a great many victims were slain. An inscription tells us of 169 oxen being required for one feast at Athens. In all processions the military, or citizens in armour, and on horseback, formed, as they now do, an important and imposing part. We have, fortunately, preserved to us in the frieze which ran round the wall of the cella of the Parthenon at Athens, a splendid representation of such a procession (cf. Fig. 7.) Most of the reliefs are in the British Museum, with casts of some finer pieces preserved at Athens. There were also great choral odes performed, and stately dances, on which much care was employed, and no expense spared. But we are bound to add that in addition to all the splendour of the Festivals and Athletic Contests, there was the usual collection of mountebanks, jugglers, thimble-riggers, and other bad characters, who now frequent horse-races. This was so much the case in later days, that Cicero indignantly denies the report that he had gone to the Olympic Games, just as some sober divine might now object to being seen at the Derby. On the other hand we must regard the home festivals in each Greek city among the most humane and kindly institutions in their life. They corresponded to our Sundays and holydays, when the hard-worked and inferior classes are permitted to meet, and enjoy themselves. This was particularly the case with the slaves, who were treated more like our horses than our servants, but who enjoyed many indulgences on these special days. The women also in such cities as usually insisted upon their seclusion, were allowed to join in processions, and see something of the world; and 'the stranger that was within their gates,' or who came to worship at the feast, was received with kindness and hospitality. No executions or punishments were allowed; prisoners were let out on bail, and the sentences of the law for debts or fines were postponed in honour of the gods, who were worshipped not in sadness, but with joy.



FIG. 7.—Part of the Equestrian Procession on the Frieze of the Parthenon.

CHAPTER V.

GREEK RELIGION AND LAW.

THIS description of the social and entertaining side of the Greek Festivals naturally leads us to consider their serious side, who their gods were whom they worshipped, and how they hoped to gain their favour. We therefore now proceed to consider Greek religion in its general aspects, as the various details of their worship, varying in each town, would require a very long and intricate discussion.

82. The Various Elements of Greek Religion.—If almost all the religions of the old world were made up of divers and often inconsistent beliefs, the religion of the Greeks was peculiarly so, owing to the action of various historical causes, in addition to the geographical isolation of the various states. The general ideas of our **Aryan** or Indo-European fore-fathers are manifestly reproduced in the fundamental features of Greek mythology. There seems no doubt that the powers and **operations of nature**, such as the Sun, the Dawn, Clouds, and Storms, were worshipped in India and Persia, and the very names used there are preserved, in their Greek form, in Greek mythology. This then was the earliest element.

But these natural powers were almost all **transformed into persons** by the strong instinct of the Greeks to explain all action in Nature by will and by passion. Thus the Greek gods became persons, of like passions with men, and in the several isolated communities, into which the country was separated, the ingenuity of the priesthood, and the aspirations of the worshippers, determined the **special worship of various gods**, without much regard to the worship of their neighbours. So it came to pass,

even in later days, that the favourite residence of Zeus was Dodona or Olympia; of Hera, Samos or Argos; of Athene, Athens. We can find an analogy even amongst the Jews, who held that the temple of Jerusalem was the special dwelling-place of Jehovah, and on this they had (cf. St. John iv. 20) a bitter controversy with the Samaritans, who thought He might be worshipped on Mount Gerizim.

83. The genealogical poets who presently arose, composed poems like the Theogony of Hesiod, in which they brought all the local gods and worships into relation, inventing marriages and connections, often based on the old picturesque ideas about natural phenomena. These people made, so to speak, the Theology of the nation. Along with them, or immediately after them, came the strictly **Epic** poets who sang indeed the praises of men, and not of God, but who introduced the gods as a society like that of human princes, in order to explain their action upon human affairs. The poems of Homer and his school made the older genealogies familiar to the nation, and also induced a **general belief in the human character of the gods**,—a belief perpetuated all through Greek history, and perfectly established in the vulgar mind, when sculpture and painting came to the aid of poetry, and represented the gods not only with human motives, but with **human forms**. Thus arose all those myths about the adventures of the gods, which shocked and pained serious thinkers on religion in Greece.

But while art maintained this worldly and even immoral view of the gods, the deeper and purer spirits sought and found in **mysteries and in secret services**, comfort and hope. We know that these mysteries, especially the Eleusinian, while in no way conflicting with the popular beliefs, yet taught the doctrines of future life and of retribution in such a

way that those initiated had peace and joy in life, and a firm hope at the hour of death. With the decay of the nation, and the inroads of foreign influence, foreign deities and worships came in, but with these we are not concerned.

84. Its Local Character.—Quite apart from the distinct classification of gods into heavenly, into earthly (such as the Nymphs), and into those of the nether world, there was much importance set on the place in which a god was worshipped. This arose sometimes from his having been originally a strictly local god, only worshipped in a special place, which even after the spread of his worship remained his peculiar and favourite sanctuary. Sometimes, as in the case of oracles, gloomy caves, and sulphurous vapours, which maddened the priest, were the cause of special places being selected, or else a stone which had fallen from heaven, or the point where lightning struck, marked out the sacred spot. In addition to these physical reasons, there were moral reasons connected with the sanctity of the citadel, the hearth, and the boundaries of property. Hence all these places were under the peculiar care and favour of special gods. So also when heroes or ancestors were worshipped, the tomb, or the scene of some mythical exploit was always selected as the place of worship.

85. Its National Character.—But while all these special local worships subsisted, still the religion of the Greeks was essentially national. The old poets had thoroughly done the work of bringing system into their theology, and though the gods had favourite abodes, their power was everywhere acknowledged, and even their omnipresence generally believed. The Greeks were in fact ready to identify even foreign gods with their own, and were quite free from that exclusiveness which is the essence of modern religion. When the oracle at Delphi took the lead in Greece, it determined and regulated when and where new

services should be established, and what deceased worthies should be raised to the rank of heroes, and consequently worshipped. The great games and festivals of Greece were another bond which brought all special worships into harmony, for then all Greece met to honour the same god with the same rites. And lastly, religious offices and feasts were accepted as the universal means of marking seasons and years, at a time when no other means of chronology had been discovered. Thus Thucydides fixes a date not only by the annual magistrates at Athens, but by the forty-eighth year of the priesthood of Chrysis, at Argos. So the Olympic and Carneian victors were also cited. This marking of a year by several independent tests may be observed in our Gospels (St. Luke ii. 1).

86. **The Olympic Gods.**—There were generally twelve gods assumed as superior in power and privileges to the rest, but the lists vary, and no fixed principle prevailed. At the head of Olympus was **Zeus**, the father of gods and men, who was said to have dethroned Saturn and the Titans; the elder deities, perhaps, of conquered races which had disappeared before those of the Hellenes. His greatest temple and image (by Pheidias) was at Olympia, in Elis. His sister and wife was **Hera**, the goddess who presided over marriage, and was worshipped at Samos and Argos. Next comes (in historical times) **Apollo**, whose worship was specially adopted by the Dorians from the Ionians, who had built him a famous temple, and made him a great feast at Delos. But it was as the Pythian Apollo of Delphi, in Phocis, that, with the Dorians, he took the lead of all other gods in Greece. In Homer's day, **Poseidon**, god of the sea, and brother of Zeus, was more important, and so was **Athene**, the special protectress of Attica and of Athens, who plays so leading a part in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. She was called daughter of Zeus,

and was the goddess of arts and sciences. **Ares**, the god of war, was peculiarly at home in Thrace ; and **Aphrodite**, whose worship was often confused with that of the Syrian and Phoenician Astarte, was the goddess of love. Her son **Eros** was the personification of *Desire* of all sorts. **Artemis** was the goddess of the chase, but was also worshipped as a goddess of the underworld. She was the sister of Apollo, and both were said to be born at Delos, of Latona, another wife of Zeus. **Demeter** was the goddess of corn and agriculture, worshipped in the mysteries of Eleusis and elsewhere, along with her daughter **Cora**, the wife of **Pluto**, brother of Zeus, and king of the dead, who was, therefore, rather a nether world deity. **Hermes** was the messenger of the gods, but also the god of gain, and the escorter of the dead. He was worshipped at the crossings of streets, and boundary stones (with his image upon them) were called *Erpuai*. **Dionysus** personified enthusiasm.

These examples will suffice. We may add the case of **Heracles**, who, having been long worshipped as a hero, was translated into an Olympian deity. It is not easy to tell what gods were honoured in the several temples from their external appearance, but as a general rule temples dedicated to gods had the statue looking eastward, and therefore the main door at the east front, while those of the heroes faced westward.

87. **Earthly Deities**.—Though the feeling for the picturesque in nature was almost strange to the Greeks, they made up for it by filling rivers, fountains, and woods with superhuman beings, who protected and loved external nature, and were worshipped there. These beings were not included among the Olympian gods. Such were **Pan**, the shepherd god, who was the cause of those terrors still called *panics*, the **nymphs** of wells, the **hamadryads** of trees, and the river gods. The old Greek conceived these gods as dancing in the glades, and playing about the

fountains. Thus, too, the hour of midday was the time when Pan slept, and must not be wakened by the shepherd's pipe. Prayers are often addressed to these gods, especially the river gods, in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the old Greek who wandered alone in the woods was ever haunted by the fear that he might surprise and see some of these nymphs or goddesses in their retreat—a very dangerous accident, which was followed by sudden blindness, or even death.

88. Chthonian Deities.—These were the gods of the nether world, and included not only Pluto and Persephone (Cora), and Hermes, as escorter of the dead, but also those heroes or ancestors who had altars and honours assigned to them. The worship of the dead was very common, and almost every great man in early times was so honoured, at least by his own clan. Afterwards the Delphic oracle generally determined in what cases it should be done. But there is reason to believe that a good deal of license or caprice was shown in the setting up of new heroes. It was universally believed that the position and happiness of the dead depended directly upon the honour paid him at his tomb by his relatives, and for this reason offerings at the tomb at stated seasons were among the most solemn duties of filial piety.

89. The Ministers of Religion.—I have already spoken of these under § 74. They may be divided into patriarchal and professional. For many services were performed by the master of the house at his hearth, or by some special clan, on whom the duty devolved from their ancestors. Such was the duty of the Eumolpidæ of Athens at the Eleusinian mysteries. Thus certain magistrates always performed certain duties, and the Athenians, after abolishing royalty, kept up a *king archon* for these religious reasons. Besides these ministers, who arose from the patriarchal character of Greek society in early times, there were

professional ministers, divided, as among the Hebrews, into priests and prophets. The priests were attached to the temples, where they performed sacrifices and instructed the worshippers how to act. The prophets were not so attached, but generally accompanied any important enterprise, in order to sacrifice, and tell the will of the gods by omens, dreams, and other soothsaying. The corporation of priests at Delphi combined both offices, and gave responses through their prophetess at the oracle of the god. The social position of the seer or prophet (*μάντις*) varied from one of great importance to that of a strolling fortuneteller. The influence of all these priests and prophets was never, among the Greeks, combined into one great organized force, acting upon politics and moulding society. There was no such thing as a Church opposed to the State, or controlling it. The varieties of worship, the isolation of communities, and the absence of a caste or corporation feeling, were the principal causes of the absence, in Greece, of a power so prominent in Christian Europe.

90. General Character of Religious Worship.—As in every other religion, prayer is the leading feature of Greek religion. But when the Greek raised his hands to the gods at their temple, he sought to conciliate them by sacrifices of oxen, goats, or other animals, as well as with incense, and thought them bound in fairness to hear him. The animals were at times wholly burnt (holocausts), at others partly, and the remainder used for a religious feast. There were also curses and imprecations solemnly invoked by the worshipper, either on his enemy, or on himself, if he failed to perform some solemn duty. Besides this, there was the habit of inquiring of the gods in cases of doubt and difficulty—a thing done by going with an offering to an oracle, and obtaining an answer through the

priest. There can be no doubt that the oracles were a great engine of moral good in Greece. The last religious duty to be here specified are the festivals and games already described.

91. Religious Feeling.—As it may be said fairly that every religion is deeper and purer than its ritual, so we must not judge the piety of the Greeks either by the pictures of their art and literature, or by the superstitions of their sacrifices and oracles. There is indirect evidence in their literature that the common people usually spoke of the deity as one, that they fully believed in the rule of a Divine Providence, according to justice and mercy, and that they regarded not only ritual but devotion to be their duty towards the gods. Not merely physical advantages, such as health, beauty, and fertility, but all the foundation of their liberty and their national greatness, were commonly ascribed to the Divine favour. The greatest monuments of their poetry, their sculpture, and their architecture were worked out with a devout feeling for the honour of the gods, though to us they have become interesting merely as pure works of art.

After having discussed the relations of the Greeks to their gods, we proceed to consider their *legal relations to their fellow-citizens*.

92. General Notions of Law and Liberty.—Greek law, so far as we know it, does not present at all so complete a system as the Roman, but grew gradually out of the traditions of patriarchal customs, in which the clan and family were the leading authority; and out of the requirements of the State, which was bound to protect itself from enemies without and lawlessness within. Thus in most matters of property, the individual was regarded as member of a clan, which inherited it in default of heirs. A considerable part of his religion was also

depending upon clan sacrifices and feasts. On the other hand, the State was considered to have an absolute right over the life and property of all its citizens, so that the notion of individual liberty for all, so prominent nowadays, was not what the Greeks meant by liberty. They meant a condition of the State in which all full citizens had personal safety (*ἀσφάλεια*), freedom of speech (*παρρησία*), right of intermarriage (*ἐπιγαμία*), and right of holding property (*εγκτησίς*).

93. But these were never the rights of all the population. The governing or free body of citizens were surrounded by women and children, by slaves, and by resident aliens, who had none of these rights, or had them most sparingly conceded. Thus the Greek liberty rather meant the rights of a privileged class, and often implied injustice to inferiors. But the State, though it seldom interfered with them in the way of police regulations, when it did so interfere as a master would with his slave. The number of guests at dinner parties, the expense of entertainments, general improvidence of living—such matters were frequently the subject of legislation. An orator out of order was even at Athens rudely hauled off the bema by the police.

94. **Aristocracy, Democracy, Tyranny, as affecting Private Life.**—The great and deep-rooted objection which the Greeks had to tyranny was, in the first place, that one of themselves was set over them absolutely, whose claims they did not recognize; and secondly, that this ruler might dispose of their life, their family, and their property, without redress or hindrance. More especially, such tyrants, even when otherwise mild and just rulers, would not allow that lounging and discussing in the market-place, which corresponded in effect to our free press, and always excited discontent and revolt. And again, they effaced the marked distinction between privileged

and non-privileged citizens, favouring aliens and freedmen even more than citizens. Thus, while poets and artists profited by the tyrants, and while culture often improved, the political classes felt such a state of things intolerable. In aristocracies, again, the privileged classes were, so to speak, a small democracy surrounded by a large population of poor freemen, who were easily content if their material comforts were provided for. If not, they were a violent and dangerous outer public, often strong enough to overthrow their oppressors. The Greek democracy was, as I have said, only an extension of the privileges of an aristocracy to all pure citizens, who were the rulers of a much greater population of slaves and inferiors. The duties and rights of the ruling body consisted, both in aristocracies and democracies, in administrating and in judging. Thus the free Athenian citizen might be an *ἀρχων*, or magistrate, a *δικαστής* or judge (including jury work), or a mere *ἰδιώτης*, when not so employed. A great deal of his time was occupied with the public service, which in general was not paid, but regarded in its higher functions as an honourable burden. Secretaries and clerks, on the contrary, were always remunerated, as were also the members of the large jury courts at Athens—a device to support all the poor free citizens of Athens upon the public money levied from their subjects and allies.

95. To discuss the various public offices and functions which existed in Greek states does not come within our plan, but we are bound to say something of the legal proceedings by which rights were enforced and violences punished among private citizens. Unfortunately, we have the law proceedings of no Greek state described to us, except those of Athens. But we may be sure that these were more developed and more complicated than those of all other Greek democracies, not to say of aristocracies. In these

latter, we may conceive the ordinary proceedings as not much changed from the days of Hesiod, when the princes sat to hear judgments, and decided apparently without any written laws or without appeal. In some few cases written laws were provided by celebrated lawgivers, but the very fact of their being so celebrated shows that this was exceptional. We therefore proceed to give an analysis of the law procedure at Athens, based on the most perfect of the Greek codes.

96. **The Attic Courts.**—As the Athenian people had a great commercial public to deal with at the Peiræus, and as all important suits among their subjects were tried by them at Athens, the main business of all the privileged class, or full citizens, was to sit in various courts and decide disputes. There were first the annual magistrates, who had carefully defined duties, the archon Eponymus (after whom the year was called), deciding questions of inheritance and of family dispute; the archon *βασιλεύς*, for religious questions; the polemarch, for trials among aliens. Besides these, there were the other six archons, or Thesmothetæ, the **Eleven** (*οἱ ἑρδεκα*) who had a summary jurisdiction in police cases, who were the governors of the prison, and superintended executions and punishments. There were also the **forty** who went round the country, and held sessions, deciding smaller cases, like our local magistrates and chairmen at petty sessions. Beyond these, there were a large body of officially-appointed arbitrators (*διαιτηται*), who were supposed to try cases in the first instance, and endeavour to effect a settlement at small cost and trouble. But all these magistrates and boards, chosen yearly by lot, were subject to an appeal made to the dicasteries (*δικαστήρια*), or jury courts made up of subdivisions of the people (called for this purpose *ἡλιασται*), numbering from 200 to 500, who sat daily to decide cases. They had no professional judges to guide them, and without being even allowed to consult

together, voted their verdict by ballot. These ultimate courts of the sovereign people were so busy, and the appeal to them was so full of risk, that it was usual to settle cases, if possible, before arbitrators or special magistrates. As all were chosen by lot, their decisions might be good or bad, but the archons at least were allowed skilled assessors, and probably had some traditional rules and precedents in their courts, which the juries had not. These sometimes even put down one of the litigants with clamour, and refused to hear both sides of the case. They had also power to decide, at least in private suits, against both law and evidence, nor was there any redress possible, except by proving perjury in the witnesses. Thus we may be sure that while the inferior courts were often ably and conscientiously managed, this supreme tribunal, with its crowd of judges, was arbitrary, capricious, and uncertain in the extreme. These assemblies of popular judges (*δικάσται*) were, moreover, from the very nature of the case, wholly irresponsible, while all official magistrates were liable to give account of their conduct (*ὑπεύθυνοι*) at the annual investigation (*εὑθυναί*) held when they laid down office. Litigants accordingly used all manner of devices to excite the sympathy and commiseration of the dicasts ; they wept in court, they brought their little children with them, they appealed to past good deeds, and raked up scandal against their adversaries. When such irregularities were allowed, we are not surprised to find allusions made to men who were condemned and executed, and whose innocence was afterwards proved. Living appears to have been so cheap at Athens, that the daily fee of three obols was almost a support for a poor family, and so a pauper Athenian sat in judgment on the richest suitors, and scorned to do any other work to obtain his bread. A humorous picture of this sort of citizen is given in the *Wasps*, an extant comedy of the poet Aristophanes.

97. The Ordinary Legal Procedure.—The first step was the summoning (*πρόσκλησις*) of the defendant (*ὁ φεύγων*) by the plaintiff (*ὁ διώκων*), who was accompanied by witnesses (*κλητῆρες*). As the Greeks generally lived out of doors, we usually hear of this being done in the street or market-place. A formal statement of this proceeding was then laid before the magistrate, in order to obtain a trial (*λαγχάνειν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα*). If the proceeding was not strictly formal, the defendant could bring an action of defective or false summons (*γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας*), which of course came in as one of the various forms of demurrer (*παραγραφή*) by which the defendant could argue that he was not bound to enter upon a direct defence of the charge. It was thought so important to make the first speech to the jury, that every sort of device was attempted to frame such a plea in bar.

When the summons was laid before the archon, and acknowledged, each party paid into court the court fees (*πρυτανεῖα*), a small percentage of the sum or fine at issue, which went to the State, but of which the losing side was ultimately obliged to pay both parts, as in the case of the costs in most of our trials. It was customary, as I have said, to go first before an arbitrator, but if he could not satisfy both parties, he sealed up all the documents and evidence brought before him, which were handed into court when the formal trial came on. Both sides then acknowledged their respective statements on oath (*διωμοσία* or *ἀντωμοσία*). The evidence of slaves was taken by torture (*βάσανος*), and is generally described by the orators as the most trustworthy kind. In case of either side being supposed to conceal any facts, it was usual for the suspected party to offer his slaves for torture, and to refuse this when challenged (*πρόκλησις*) was a weak point in his case. We know that a great deal of time was often spent in these preliminary moves of which I have not noticed all the various details.

98. But when the case came before the **heliasts**, the proceeding was very simple. In private suits each party spoke twice. The magistrates who prepared the case determined the length of the speeches, according to the importance of the case, by allowing to each so many measures of the water-clock (*κλεψύδρα*), which was stopped while evidence was being read during the course of a speech. The witnesses themselves appear to have certified their written evidence in court on oath. Hearsay evidence was against the law, except in case of what a dead man had done or said, who could not be produced. In all other cases only direct evidence was to be given. But the court often also allowed irregularities, as there was no professional judge to restrain them. Evidence of character was also allowed, of bad as well as of good, and many extant speeches consist mainly of attacks upon the personal character of the opponent. Though the parties were compelled to appear themselves, and to speak, they might also employ advocates, both to speak and to write speeches for their clients. The trade of writing speeches for the law courts (*λογογράφειν*) was a common one.

99. When the votes of the jury were counted, an equal division was in favour of the accused, but even in capital cases a majority of one (in several hundred) condemned him. Unless the penalty was fixed by law (*ἀτίμητος δίκη*) there followed an argument for the assessment (*τίμησες*) of damages, in which the plaintiff and defendant each made a proposal, and the court might choose either; but not, it appears, an intermediate verdict; so that it was the interest of both sides to be fair in assessment. In this case the jurymen were allowed to consult together. If the plaintiff failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes of the court, he was subject to a fine of 1,000 drachmæ in public cases, in private he had to pay the defendant a sixth part of his claim (*ἐπωβελία*). He was obliged to

pay the same sum, if he dropped the accusation (*καθυφίέναι*), after having entered on the preliminary procedure.

100. **The Enforcing of Penalties.**—The losing litigant was given a short time of grace, and then in case of fines was obliged to give pledges (*ἐνέχυρα*) to his opponent, in default of which he was proceeded against in an action for contempt of court (*ἐξούλης δίκη*) with additional penalties. In case of fines due to the State, on the contrary, the condemned was at once disfranchised (*ἀτιμος*), and had to give bail to escape imprisonment, while the State applied all his property, if necessary, to pay the fine. If the punishment was corporal, he was handed over to the Eleven, who had him punished or executed in prison, as was the case with Socrates. Athenian citizens were given hemlock to drink, and were generally allowed to have their friends with them ; indeed, this seems to have been allowed every evening. Escapes from prison were thus not unfrequent, and the fugitives were posted in a sort of Hue and Cry proclamation by the Eleven. But as exile was so severe a punishment, the escape from prison was by no means an escape from a heavy penalty. It seems that executions even at Athens were also performed by the public executioner, who lived beside the *barathrum*, by strangling, by the sword, by cudgelling, and also by being cast alive into the barathrum, though it was not deep enough to ensure death. But all these were extreme cases. In general the body of the executed was given back to his friends.

The penalty of exile might or might not be attended with loss of property ; in the case of ostracism or banishment on account of a political crisis, a man's property was always safe. But a very severe penalty was disfranchisement (*ἀτιμία*), whereby a man lost all the privileges of citizenship, and could accordingly

neither hold property, marry legally a citizen woman, nor speak for himself in court or assembly.

101. General Estimate of Crime.—If we examine what crimes were considered the gravest by the Greeks, and what were thought venial, we find the principle generally adopted, that crimes committed through want of self-control, or sudden impulse, were treated with indulgence, while those arising from meanness or deliberate plan were severely punished. Homicide, for example, or drunk brawling, provided no magistrate was assaulted, was atoned for by satisfying the injured people or their relatives; nor did the State interfere with such a settlement, except to prevent any public pollution by means of guilt. On the contrary, thieving, and violence with robbery, were treated summarily with the penalty of death even at Athens, where the greatest care was taken to prevent personal outrage of all kinds, even to slaves. The older codes were censured in after days for their great severity, just as we now look back with horror to the day when men were hanged for stealing a sheep.

102. International Law and the Laws of War.—Though all the Greek cities were regarded as separate states, and were very jealous of their independence or self-government (*αὐτονομία*), they felt that they stood to one another in a very different relation from that of absolute strangers. There were certain understood courtesies and privileges, such as admission to the national games, to temples, and to trading cities or markets, which we cannot precisely define, but which are often appealed to when any city proceeded to very harsh measures in war. Thus the Athenian decree, expelling the Megarians from all the markets of Attica, is complained of as violating the international relations of the Greeks (*τὰ κοινὰ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*). There were even many cases of the settlement of

disputes between cities by arbitration at an early period of Greek history, and this humane and civilised idea, which is not yet understood by most modern nations, was almost always proposed by either side in a quarrel among Greek cities. In actual war the massacre of prisoners—at least of prisoners fit to bear arms—was very common, and not abandoned till fighting fell into the hands of mercenaries. Women and children were sold as slaves. But the ransom of a prisoner of war seems to have been fixed at a low price, generally not above two minæ (£8), and we do not know cases of its being refused. The citizen armies of Greece only made summer campaigns, and went home in the winter—a fact which seems to prove that the climate was far colder than it now is, when travelling is almost impossible in the heat.

103. The Calendar, and the Fixing of Dates.

—The Greeks found the same difficulties that all other nations have done in making days, months, and years correspond with the natural change of the seasons. They used the lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and Solon accordingly called the 30th day *ēn̄ kai νέα*, which means the old, or else the first day (before the new month), and the new, being the last ten days counted backwards. But twelve of these lunar months, of 30 and 29 days alternately, made up a year too short for the solar year, so that it became necessary to make out longer periods—first of 8 years, in which, by putting in an additional month every third, fifth, and eighth year, the difference could be made up. Afterwards the astronomer Meton devised (B.C. 432) a more complicated period of 19 years, in order to attain this object more perfectly. The solar year did not come into use in Greece till after the Christian era.

· 104. It can easily be seen what perplexity this inserting of months must have caused to the country people,

especially as all the names of the months had been fixed according to certain feasts, celebrated on certain days in them, and often in connection with farming operations. Thus a vintage feast would have no meaning if not celebrated at the exact time intended by the calendar, because it strictly agreed with the natural season. The rude practical division of the year was into three parts : the spring (*εαρ*), the summer, including reaping time (*θέρος*) and vintage (*διπώρα*), and the winter (*χειμών*), the period of storms. The spring feasts accordingly celebrated the revival of nature from night and cold, and also the purifications customary at births and the sowing of seeds. The summer feasts symbolised the fierceness of the sun's heat, the blessedness of rich corn harvests, or the joys of the vintage. The winter feasts were wild and sportive amusements, chiefly in honour of Dionysus, in which men turned to feasting when the work was over, and endeavoured to beguile the rainy season with mirth and jollity. Such was the yearly round of festivals, which took place at their seasons in different parts of Greece, without regard to the beginning or end of the official year, which in some cities was in spring, in others at the summer or winter solstice, in others at the autumn equinox. So the names of the months varied with their numbering, the 3rd month of one city corresponding to the 6th of another, and so forth. It was therefore necessary to have some general mark of time common to all, and this was found in the four great national feasts. These being proclaimed all over Greece solemnly, with a general truce, were distinct epochs, fixed with all possible accuracy by the priests, who were the most learned and reliable authorities in such matters. The Olympic festival (cf. § 77) accordingly took place every 5th year at the first full moon after the summer solstice, which happened in either the month Parthenius or the month

Apollonius of the Elean year. The Greeks came ultimately to reckon their time by these Olympiads, as we reckon by the Christian era. The Pythian games were held on the 7th day of the Bœotian month Bucatius, at like intervals to the Olympic, so that each feast coincided with the autumn of the 3rd year in an Olympiad. The other two were held every third year, the Isthmia occurring in the middle of summer, between the 2nd and 3rd and between the 4th and 1st of the Olympic years. The Nemea were held in winter and summer alternately. By means of these fixed dates, together with the yearly magistrates, and the years which had elapsed since the appointment of certain life priesthoods (as I have already observed § 84), the Greeks managed to establish a general understanding as to the reckoning of time.

105. **The Names of the Months.**—These, as already observed, were very various, differing in each of the states, and were all called after some feast which took place in them—often a very old feast, which was completely obscured by some newer and more important ceremony. Thus the names of the Attic months were not called after the Eleusinia, the Panathenæa, or Dionysia, but after local services, of which we seldom hear in history. I give them here by way of specimen. The year began with the summer solstice, and the first month (21st June to 21st July) was called **Hecatombaion**, noted as the month of the Panathenæa, celebrated every year, but with special splendour every four years. Then came **Metageitnion**, **Boedromion** (month of the Eleusinia), **Pyaneption** (feast of Apaturia), **Maimacterion** (in our November, the time of the Dionysia in the country), **Poseideon**, **Gamelion**, **Anthesterion** (the month of flowers), **Elaphebolion**, **Muny-**

chion, Thargelion, and Scirophorion. There were a great many feasts fixed for days within each of these months, so much so that we may compare them to the saints' days which abound in the calendar of the Roman Catholic Church. This profession of holy days at Athens may have tended to give the people that reputation for idleness which they had ever after the days of their great energy under the leading of Themistocles and Pericles. Though the slaves in the city joined in many of these feasts, we are told that the unfortunate workmen in the silver mines were only allowed four days rest in the whole year.

106. Conclusion.—We have now given in brief summary most of the important details of Greek life, as it affected private citizens. In order to know the real greatness of that people, it is necessary to study their political history, their struggles for liberty, their development of legislation and of commerce. It is still more necessary to study their incomparable literature, in which we may find not only the purest models of prose writing—both history and oratory—but also every form of poetry in its highest development—epic, lyric, dramatic, and idyllic. Their private life does not show their greatness at all so well, for there were moral qualities in the nation which marred the average of private society, while they did not touch the great masters of thought and action, like *Aeschylus* and Pericles. This is probably the case with every nation; the great writers are above the mass, and represent a higher tone of feeling and of morals. It is therefore all the more desirable that the shadow side, or ordinary side of a people, should be known, lest we make the mistake of glorifying them above their desert, and attributing to the ordinary man the virtues and talents of the exceptional

genius. But after all these proper cautions, the great fact which must strike all who know and understand the Greeks, is the extraordinary frequency of this exceptional genius among them. No man can explain the origin of a single genius in the world, far less the origin of so many together. But the fact remains certain, and is the greatest claim which any nation can have to the study and the admiration of posterity.

THE END.

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